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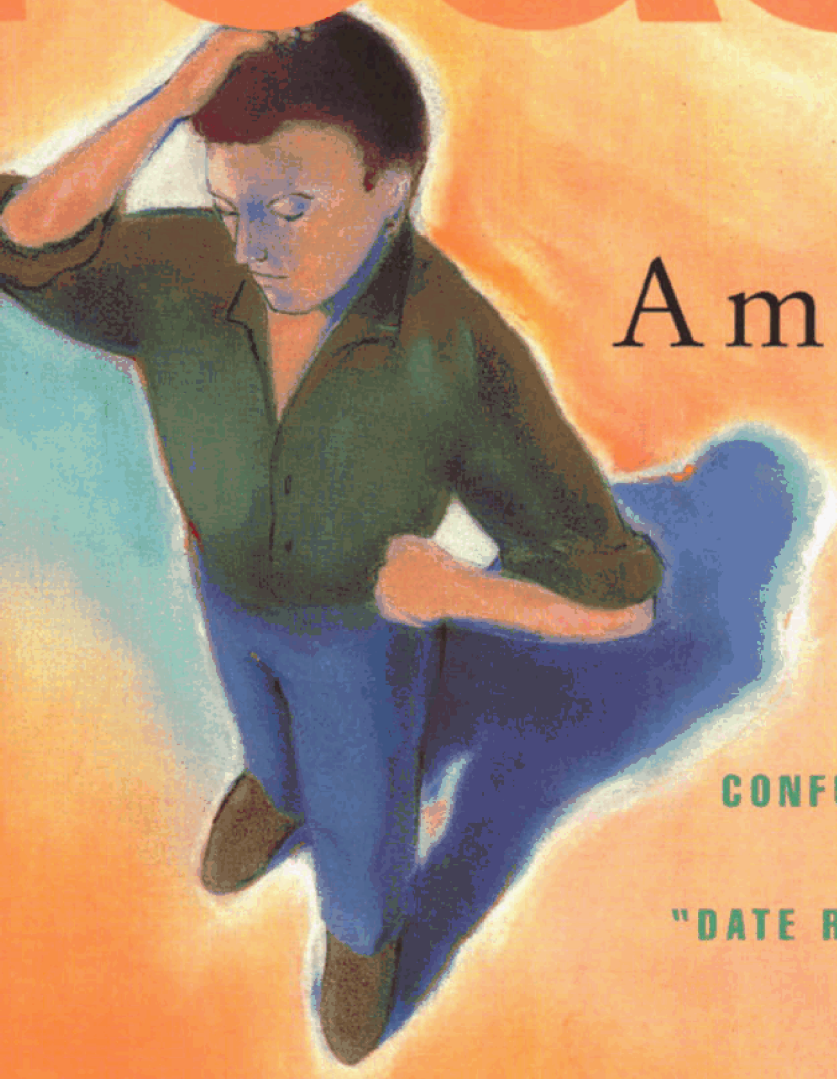

Ambiguous Liaisons

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IDEOLOGY, CONFUSION, AND THE "DATE RAPE CRISIS"

+ + +

BY STEPHANIE GUTMANN

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MR. CHIPS GOES TO WASHINGTON

An interview with entrepreneur T.J. Rodgers

ALCOHOL: THE NEW THALIDOMIDE

By Stanton Peele

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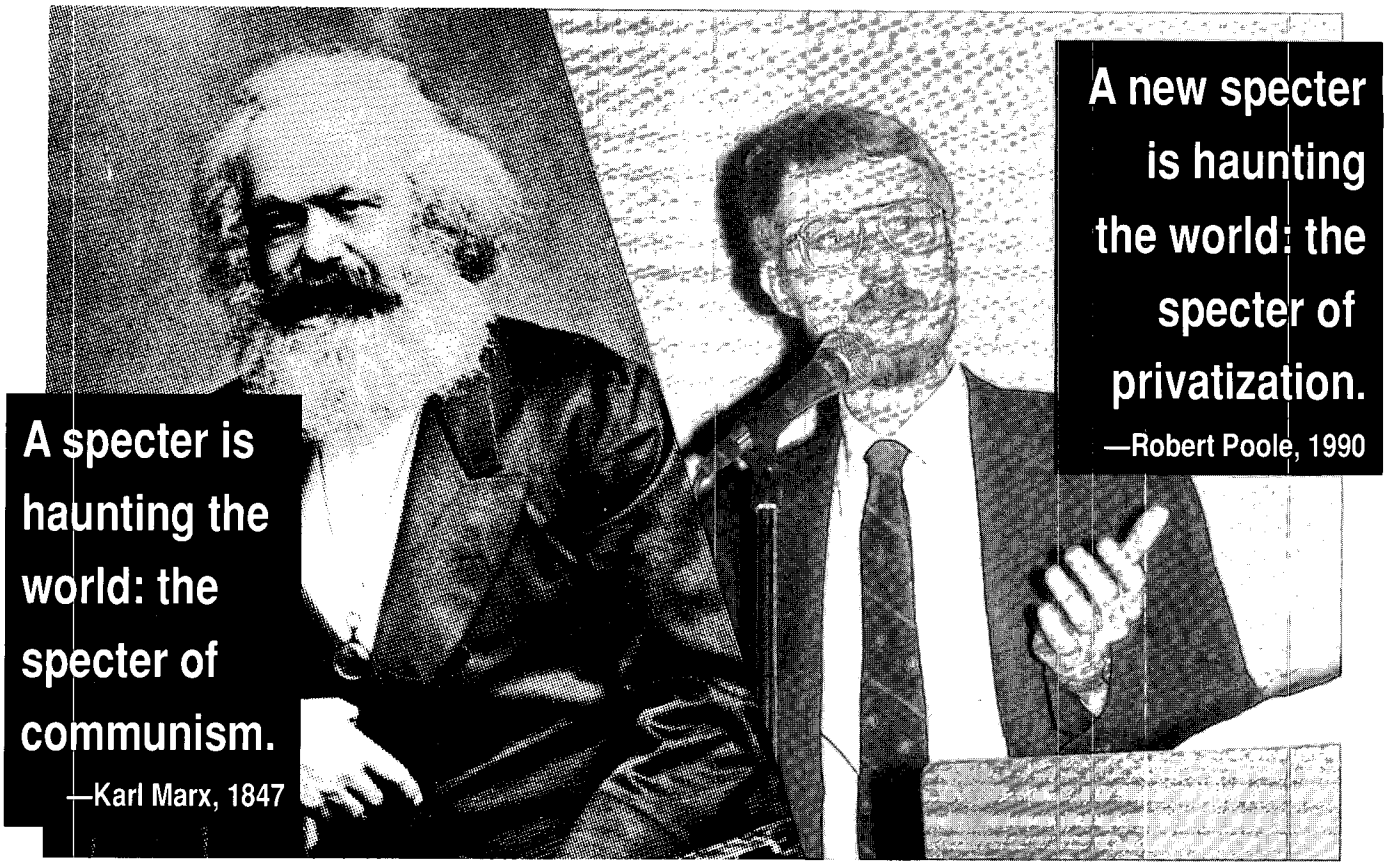
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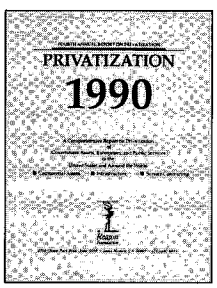

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Free Minds and Free Markets

July1990/Vol. 22, No. 3

FEATURES

22
"It Sounds Like I Raped You!"
Stephanie Gutmann
By making women helpless victims and men satanic brutes, "date rape" equates ambiguous sexual encounters with outright coercion.

28
The New Mr. Chips: An Interview with T.J. Rodgers
Virginia I. Postrel and Steven R. Postrel
You don't need Washington lobbyists or industrial policy to be successful in Silicon Valley.

34
Dream Deferred
Steven W. Mosher
The Chinese democracy movement is thriving—outside the mainland.

EDITORIALS

4
Sticky Labels
Virginia I. Postrel

6
Lip Service
Charles Oliver

7
Judges as Taxmen
Rick Henderson

COLUMNS

39
Rent Control: Oceanfront Battleground
Rick Henderson
'60s radicals get a dose of reality.

41
Alcohol: The New Thalidomide
Stanton Peele
Pregnant women become temperance targets.

44
The Law: Sex, Drugs, & Religion
Jacob Sullum
The problem with exceptions.

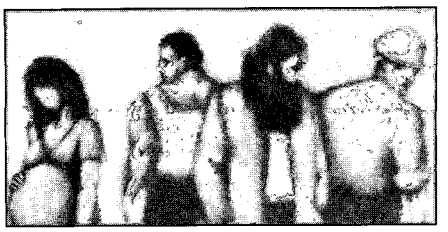
47
Corruption: Bait and Switch
Debra J. Saunders
"Stop me before I campaign again!"

49
Movies: Mm-Mmm-Good
David Brudnoy
A deliciously disturbing film.

51
Civil Rights: Fight the Power
Clint Bolick
Local activists take charge.

58
Selected Skirmishes: A Thousand Pints of Lite
Thomas W. Hazlett
Uncle Sam's diet plan.

THE BOOK CASE



52
Po' Folks
Karl Zinsmeister
The Undeserving Poor, by Michael Katz

53
Open the Floodgates
Annelise Anderson
The Economic Consequences of Immigration, by Julian L. Simon

55
Good Sense, Bad Delivery
Adam Garfinkle
The Great Universal Embrace: Arms Summitry—A Skeptic's Account, by Kenneth L. Adelman

56
Immortal Questions
Greg Costikyan
The Boat of a Million Years, by Poul Anderson

DEPARTMENTS

8
Letters

16
Trends

20
Brickbats

Cover illustration by Sara Swan

REASON (ISSN 0048-6906) is published monthly except combined August-September issue by the Reason Foundation, a nonprofit, tax-exempt organization, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Suite 1062, Santa Monica, CA 90405. Second-class postage paid at Santa Monica, CA, and additional mailing offices. **POSTMASTER:** Send address changes to REASON, P.O. Box 526, Mt. Morris, IL 61054.

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SUBSCRIPTIONS: $24.00 per year. Outside U.S. add $8/year surface, $36/year airmail. Address all subscription correspondence to REASON, P.O. Box 526, Mt. Morris, IL 61054, 815/734-6309. For address change (allow six weeks), provide old address and new address, including zip code. **UNSOLICITED MANUSCRIPTS** returned only if accompanied by SASE. **INDEXED** in Historical Abstracts, Political Science Abstracts, and PAIS Bulletin. Available on microfilm from University Microfilms International, 300 North Zeeb Rd., Dept. P.R., Ann Arbor, MI 48106.

STICKY LABELS

VIRGINIA I. POSTREL

Unless you've been living under a media-deprived rock, you probably know that America is cracking up, mostly along racial lines. Pick up any newspaper, turn on any TV news show, and the stories are there: Jimmy Breslin hurls racial epithets at an Asian-American colleague. Black youths in Brooklyn yell anti-Korean slurs and attack three Vietnamese men, leaving one hospitalized with a fractured skull. Milwaukee alderman Michael McGee calls for blacks to take up arms if their economic situation doesn't improve by 1995. Campus after campus is riven by racial conflict. What is going on?

In a sense, we asked for it. With the best of intentions, we turned our institutions, public and private, into racial label-makers that assign identities and privileges on the basis of color. We thought we could plan our way to racial harmony, could manipulate neatly labeled individuals into the outward form of an integrated society, with every group proportionally represented in every situation.

It was a fatal conceit, at least as flawed as the concept of economic central planning. We have become an officially race-conscious society, all the while telling individuals that they shouldn't notice racial differences and certainly shouldn't talk about them. This combination is highly unstable, and it is starting to bubble, boil, and emit noxious gases.

Picture today's college students—or, for that matter, today's inner city youths. They cannot remember a world in which legally enforced segregation existed. Neither can they comprehend the idealism of the civil rights movement, the idea that Americans of all races would stand equal before the law and each other.

Given the world they've grown up in, this notion must sound hopelessly naive, a proposition for suckers who understand neither power nor privilege. For their entire lives, young people have been classified by race—not just by other individuals but by their schools, their employers, their government.

Categorizing people by race is hardly a new venture in American society. What is new is the competition to be victims. My first week in college, we all had to take a writing test. Given a choice of four or five topics, nearly everyone I knew settled on the same one. It asked something to the effect of: Are you a member of a minority group that is put upon by other people? If so, how?

It was remarkable how many oppressed minorities we turned up: Jews, women, Southerners, even Californians. I imagine that somewhere in the class of 1,000-odd Princeton students, somebody wrote a defense of nerds. What we were actually saying, of course, was that we wanted to be seen, and appreciated, as individuals. But since we couldn't have that, we opted for the glamour of victimhood and the comfort of self-pity.

The unending pursuit of victim status is not only self-indulgent, it is dangerous. It hurls accusations at everyone the would-be victim comes into contact with, or at least everyone outside the victimized group. It creates distrust and makes everyone thin-skinned. It undermines individual choice, personal responsibility, and self-determination.

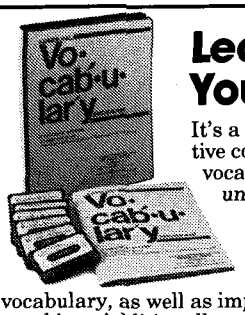
As essayist Shelby Steele writes, "Social victims may be collectively entitled, but they are all too often individually demoralized. Since the social victim has been oppressed by society, he comes to feel that his individual life will be improved more by changes *in* society than by his own initiative. Without realizing it, he makes society rather than himself the agent of change."

To be a victim is to be helpless. But it is also to have license—license to insult, license to goof off, license to burn down Sal's Pizzeria and call it "the right thing." And so we are told to see every young black criminal as a victim of his race's oppression, rather than an insult and a threat to his law-abiding black neighbors.

These pathologies extend to white males. Many racial epithets, offensive "theme" frat parties, and racist (or sexist) grafitti that we find on college campuses are not examples of "insensitivity" but of rebellion and outrage. Young white men feel oppressed. Whatever benefits their race and sex may actually convey in daily life, they have spent their entire lives officially marked "undesirable."

Told to see people who are given preferential treatment as victims, they become enraged. Told that their anger is a sign of bigotry, they decide they must be bigots. And once they've done that, they have license to indulge any truly racist impulses they like—up to and including physical attacks. "Consciousness-raising" or "sensitivity" training designed to submerge honesty in a goo of psychobabble and political indoctrination just exacerbates the problem. Forcing people into reeducation sessions only confirms their status as victims.

Having spent the last 20-odd years seeking integration by categorizing each other by race, we come to 1990 and find our newspapers, TV screens, and movie theaters filled with stories of racial violence and confrontation. There is truth in these stories, and consequences we ignore at our peril. But these



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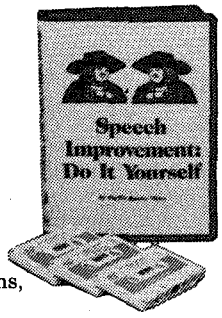

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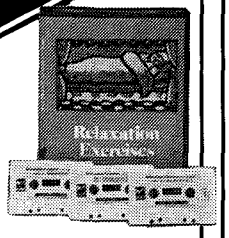

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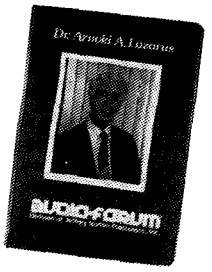

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stories do not tell the whole truth.

Despite the headlines, we seem to be moving, albeit slowly, to reclaim a more individualist vision. The courts have begun to take a dim view of racial quotas. More importantly, people from across the political spectrum are beginning to recognize the unintended, and decidedly unpleasant, consequences of sticking everyone in boxes and granting benefits to whomever seems the most victimized or yells the loudest. No longer do intellectuals who question affirmative action find themselves voices crying in the wilderness.

And among nonintellectuals, there has never been much love for affirmative action. Nobody wants to go through life feeling like the game is rigged against him, or like everyone thinks she got her job through favoritism instead of merit. Americans are suspicious of racial classification; a lot of people rebelled against the census forms that demanded to know their race.

When I walk on the UCLA campus or go to student hangouts in Westwood, I see clutches of students—whites, blacks, and Asians—sitting together, talking, studying, eating. Not every group of friends presents the kind of demographic balance a campus recruiting brochure might set up, and there is, of course, peer pressure for people to stick to "their own kind." Nevertheless, the place hardly looks like a setting for nasty racial confrontations.

Yet this very school makes every list of "problem" campuses. And there have been serious incidents at UCLA: The suspension of the editor of the student paper for publishing a cartoon poking fun at affirmative action. Protests over the failure to tenure an Asian-American professor. A racially divided student election marked by violence and stepped-up security. Tensions obviously exist.

But generalizing from such incidents to portray a permanently divided society is all too convenient. It certainly makes for dramatic news stories and compelling movie plots. More significantly, the people who have invested their careers, their faith, and their intellectual capital in the politics of victimhood will not retreat without a fight. They will use racial conflict to justify more of the policies that encourage its very existence.

The Civil Rights Act of 1990 offers them a way to roll back the Supreme Court's decisions and enshrine quotas into law. Student newspapers, reports Student Press Law Center director Mark Goodman, find themselves threatened with censorship for "even raising issues like reverse discrimination." In the academic equivalent of holding his breath till he turns blue, Derrick Bell, the black Harvard law professor, has gone on strike until the school tenures a black woman—any black woman, apparently.

Most really nasty confrontations are political, battles over group entitlements rather than individualized bigotry. And when individual acts of racial brutality do occur, as in Bensonhurst or Howard Beach, they immediately become political tools for opportunists. That fact, alone, ought to make us skeptical of the "wave of racism" we see on TV.

LIP SERVICE

CHARLES OLIVER

Read his lips: "New taxes." On May 9, George Bush and congressional leaders agreed to begin negotiations on the federal budget. Announcing the budget summit, White House spokesman Marlin Fitzwater did not explicitly repudiate Bush's campaign pledge of "no new taxes," but he did say that the President wanted "an open debate that is unfettered with conclusions about positions taken in the past." In other words, Bush reserves the right to break his promises. A kinder, gentler president? Maybe. A more trustworthy one? No.

Budget Director Richard Darman says that the federal government may have to raise $45 billion to $60 billion in new revenue to meet Gramm-Rudman deficit-reduction targets.

Anonymous White House sources have rushed to their favorite reporters to explain their boss's new position. They say that rising interest rates, a recent jump in unemployment, and slow economic growth have Bush worried that a recession is imminent.

But Bush's plan to prevent a recession must have been drawn up without the aid of an economist. A Keynesian, for example, would advise Bush to stimulate demand by raising spending or *cutting* taxes. At the other end of the political spectrum, Milton Friedman probably would also recommend a tax cut and a spending cut in order to ease the burden on the private sector. No economic theory justifies raising taxes in the face of a recession. But Bush is surrounded by able apologists who will surely concoct some rationale.

Already these men are devising ways to raise taxes without "breaking" Bush's promise. The plan seems to be to say that Bush meant no new *income* taxes. Republican leaders now talk about new "user fees," increases in gasoline, alcohol, and tobacco taxes, or a national sales tax. Still, as Gertrude Stein might have said, "A tax is a tax is a tax." We pay it in the end, if not through the nose.

While Bush wants to forget his campaign promise, other Republicans seem determined to make him stick to it. Hours after Bush announced his budget summit, 20 Republican senators released a joint statement that they would not vote for any budget package that includes new taxes.

These senators have taken the correct stand. Let's take the "worst case" scenario. The government misses the Gramm-Rudman targets by $60 billion. All that happens is that federal spending will automatically be cut across the board by that amount. Since the federal budget is over $1.2 trillion, it will only have to be cut by about 5 percent. Does anyone really think that there isn't 5 percent of

fat in the federal budget?

Of course, Congress can avoid automatic cuts by making reductions of its own. There are plenty of targets for the budget ax. The Bush administration already plans a 2 percent to 5 percent reduction in defense spending. Joint Chiefs of Staff Chairman Colin Powell has said that Pentagon spending could be cut by 25 percent without hurting America's defenses. Some outside experts put the figure closer to 50 percent. Still, taking Powell's estimate but speeding up his timetable slightly, we could cut defense spending by about $75 billion next year; that's $62 billion more than is currently planned.

We could scale back domestic spending, too. Congress could cut farm subsidies, slow cost-of-living rises in social programs, and even eliminate controversial agencies such as the National Endowment for the Arts.

That should be more than enough to meet Gramm-Rudman. But it all depends upon Congress and the president agreeing to use the peace dividend to reduce the deficit, not spending that money on new social programs.

And there lies the problem. Politicians seem to think they aren't earning their keep if they aren't passing new programs; they are drooling over that peace-dividend money. Maybe some smart congressman can convince his peers that applying the peace dividend to the deficit is itself a new program. One that promises to reduce interest rates, keep the burden on taxpayers from going up, and make America more competitive. But don't hold your breath. In the meantime, read Bush's lips carefully, and keep your hands over your wallets.

JUDGES AS TAXMEN

RICK HENDERSON

If you're searching for a one-word description of the current Supreme Court, *predictable* probably isn't on your list. Last summer, three Court decisions overturned affirmative action programs. And this April's ruling on Kansas City's segregated public schools sent everyone back to the drawing board.

The *Missouri* v. *Jenkins* case focused on a court-ordered desegregation program. Federal District Judge Russell Clark signed onto a magnet school plan the Kansas City school district drew up to lure white students into predominantly black schools. To upgrade facilities and implement new curricula, the city's taxpayers would have had to cough up as much as $700 million; they declined.

Undaunted, Judge Clark ordered the state of Missouri to pay 75 percent of the magnet program's costs while the city picked up the rest. But the school district soon ran out of money, and legal impediments kept it from raising more: The Missouri constitution specifies that voters must approve property tax increases. Kansas City voters refused to pay more than $2.05 per $100 valuation. So Judge Clark decided to set the rate—at $4.00.

The Supreme Court unanimously agreed with a lower court that Clark had no authority to set tax rates. But by a 5-to-4 margin, the justices said a federal court could force the school district to collect enough taxes to pay for the desegregation program.

Writing for the majority, Justice Byron White said, "a court order directing a local government body to levy its own taxes is plainly...within the power of a federal court." White further asserted that a local government can supersede a state tax limit when that limit violates constitutional protections (in this case, the Fourteenth Amendment's Equal Protection Clause).

In a stinging dissent, Justice Anthony Kennedy said: Wait a minute. Remember separation of powers? Remember "taxation without representation"? Liberally citing past Court decisions, the *Federalist Papers*, and the 1764 Virginia Petitions protesting the Stamp Act, Kennedy reminded his colleagues that Article III, which spells out the limits of judicial power, "nowhere includes the word 'tax' or anything that resembles it." And more than 200 years of court rulings "leave no doubt," he wrote, "that taxation is not a judicial function."

Justice Kennedy belittled the majority's position by listing more than a dozen superfluous amenities required by the magnet plan—among them, a 25-acre farm, a 2,000-square-foot planetarium, and a model United Nations wired for language translation. Kennedy chided the lower courts for making no attempt to find other ways to desegregate the city's schools.

The majority picked a rotten example to justify a fundamental shift in legal doctrine. Landmark desegregation decisions such as *Milliken* v. *Bradley* (1974) gave federal courts broad enforcement powers when integrating public schools. But, as Kennedy noted, these cases still prohibited parties from "join[ing] forces apparently for the purpose of extracting funds from the state treasury." What else could the school district and the parents bringing suit have had in mind?

Commentators have already crafted potential horror stories emerging from this decision: federal judges raising taxes to increase prison space, upgrade hospitals, improve museums; local governments committing huge sums to public works projects, then having judges mandate the taxes to pay for them. Activists on the federal bench may be licking their chops as they prepare to undo society's ills.

But this dreadful decision may conceal two silver linings. The five justices in this majority are all more than 80 years old; President Bush's first appointee to the Court would probably vote to overturn this ruling. Also, the flagging debate over the limits of judicial authority may be reinvigorated because of this blatant power grab. A decision that seems to supercharge the authority of unelected officials may eventually pull the plug on that power.

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Circulation Service
P.O. Box 526
Mt. Morris, IL 61054

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REASON is published by the Reason Foundation, a 501(c)(3) nonprofit educational foundation engaged in public-policy research. Contributions to the Reason Foundation are tax-deductible. Signed articles in REASON reflect the views of the authors and do not necessarily represent those of the editors, the Reason Foundation, or its trustees.

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LETTERS

Green with Outrage

The April issue's coverage of the environment was a welcome early respite from the deluge of mainstream magazine coverage about to drown us all between now (mid-March) and Earth Day 1990.

Andrew Ferguson's less than reverent look back at the first Earth Day ("Apocalypse Whenever") will make him lots of friends within the movement, I'm sure. I loved it!

I'm a political junkie who during the past year discovered an interest in environmental issues. The extent of my activism so far has been a lot of letter writing. I'm still working out where I stand and how I feel about many environmental issues and about activism, as my subscriptions to *Earth Island Journal*, *E*, *The Amicus Journal*, and *World Watch* magazines indicate, but hey, I'm having fun and learning a lot to boot!

Kiril Kundurazieff
Pomona, CA

TO DISCOVER THE REAL PURPOSE of environmentalism, one must ask the right question. *Cui bono?* Who benefits? When the children's crusade of ignorant housewives and unwashed college students assaulted the nuclear power industry, what was the result? The world was made safe for the coal mining corporations and the oil companies. When the construction of new factory buildings is blocked because of "endangered" lizards or because they might emit one molecule of a "toxic" substance, *cui bono?* Older factories (which killed their lizards many years ago) are protected from effective competition. When new apartment buildings and housing developments are blocked, *cui bono?* The owners of existing apartment buildings can jack up rents with impunity and the owners of existing homes sit back, do nothing, and watch the value of their property climb at double-digit rates. Capitalism and the "free market" take the blame.

So the true purpose of environmentalism is clear: protect the status quo and protect the value of stockholdings and mortgages on existing properties.

One day, only the politically connected elite will begin large, new developments of real estate. And on that day, an unctuous TV anchorperson will declare "a great victory for butterflies and the common man."

Joe Smith
Jackson, CA

I HAVE BEEN A LONGTIME subscriber to REASON and have just completed reading the April "special issue" focusing on "environmental hazards." Sadly, this has been a most disappointing experience. Virtually everything written about the environment in that issue was a put-down of the ideas and actions of environmentalists. A glaring omission, however, was the mention of exactly how a free-market approach would help to solve current environmental problems.

If we are to turn the debate toward solving problems as opposed to throwing money and regulation at them, we must be rational as opposed to merely emotional. This approach has been the general habit of REASON, and I hope that this most recent deviation is only temporary and that you will quickly return to the "high road."

Gerson N. Kaplan, M.D.
Columbia, MD

AFTER READING REASON for several issues, I can honestly state that the clarity and penetrating insight in most articles are consistently persuasive. But the April articles on environmentalism fell short of the usual standard. There was plenty of

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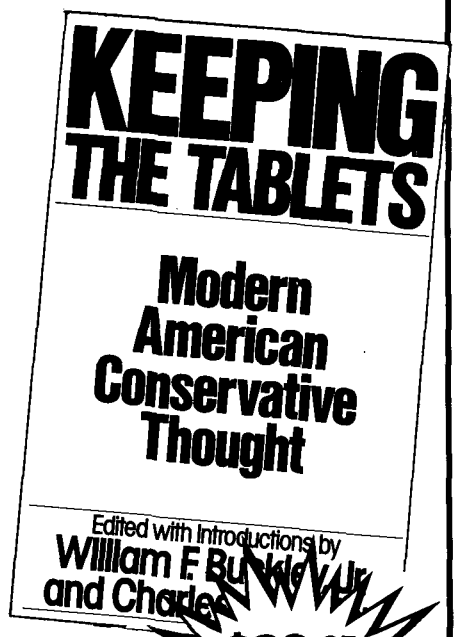

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valid criticism aimed at activist organizations. But where are the suggested solutions? How do we apply the principle of property rights to reduce air pollution? How shall we divide up the oceans? How do we apply economic considerations to a hole in the ozone layer? Shall we decimate the entire Amazon rain forest?

It is already obvious to most of your readers, I think, that the solutions of socialism will not work. We know that legislation is not the answer. Deindustrialization is a fairy tale. Technology is with us for the duration. So let's have some articles tackling these problems rationally. There are legitimate issues on environmental policy worthy of debate and presentation. This would be much more useful and influential material than attacks on activism, however eloquent the arguments may be.

Charles J. Phelan
Reseda, CA

IDEOLOGY IS THE DEATH of ideas. Yet in presenting valuable critiques of the environmental ideology, many of the writers in your April issue display an ideological bigotry so pervasive that it discredits the legitimate critiques they offer.

Using the term *environmentalist* like racists use the term *nigger,* your writers categorize and condemn a whole universe of people, many of whom (including this writer) embrace free-market ideals, or might if you'd just stop kicking them in the face.

Andrew Ferguson writes like he's a boot camp commander juicing up the troops for battle. Environmentalists, he says, are "eco-pests," "morons," "Quasimodos," "whooper-uppers," "apocalyptics," "population-control freaks," and more. Does Ferguson think his analysis would fall apart if he didn't appeal to the worst instincts of his readers?

Bigotry is a sure sign of ideological insecurity. But more than that, it turns libertarianism against its very principles. For example, in condemning their supposed "adversaries," your writers fall into the same ideological trap that many environmentalists do: They forget the relationship between free markets and environmental protection and implicitly accept the view that economic growth requires ever more waste, pollution, and destruction.

Take Charles Oliver ("Clearing the Air," Editorials). He dismisses the "eco-elite's...suggestion that we cut fossil fuel consumption by 50 percent. We just can't do this without eliminating the cars and planes and factories that burn fossil fuels," he concludes.

Where has he been for the past 15 years? Compared to 1974, we use one-third less oil today to produce a unit of GNP—and our economy is far healthier for it. In fact, today's relative energy efficiency saves 10 million barrels of oil a day—precisely the gap between Mideast capacity and consumption that maintains the oil glut and keeps prices down.

Why not take credit for the market response to the oil crisis, which has reduced consumption and pollution and accelerated economic growth?

The fact is, we do have to cut back fossil-fuel consumption. That is an economic, environmental, physical reality. But we have two choices as to how: We can let the market do it and substitute efficiencies and alternatives that will make our economy stronger. Or we can wait until it's too late and do it by force, curtailing economic freedoms and exacting a mighty economic and environmental toll. Your writers are inadvertent advocates of the latter approach.

Even Virginia Postrel ("The Green Road to Serfdom"), whose underlying analysis is quite insightful, can't help herself. She calls environmentalism "a full-fledged ideology...as powerful as Marxism, and every bit as dangerous." Who's being apocalyptic? Lighten up. Your addiction to the industrial past is as backward as the Luddite approach to plant modernization.

Personal attacks are cheap, easy, and fun. That's why they sell. But that's not why you publish REASON, nor why we read it.

Tell your writers to spend less time indulging their simple-minded prejudices, and more time applying market principles, and you'll find that what the environmentalists want and what you want are not only compatible—they're inseparable.

William K. Shireman
President
California Futures
Sacramento, CA

THE WRITERS IN YOUR anti-environment issue start from such a biased position that their articles fail as serious arguments of the issues, and indeed become ludicrous. They have two failings: First, they can only approach an issue based on their own narrow ideology. And second, they fail to seriously address the very real environmental problems the planet faces and to offer any alternatives. These failings leave your writers with only the ability to attack the radicals in the environmental movement (who do, of course, exist). They concentrate on the radicals because that is what they are, and they completely miss the issues.

Your writers are ideologues. For them everything comes down to a few basic truths. The real world is not black and white, it's gray. However, an ideologue has no tools to deal with a gray world. They apply their Basic Truths, so convinced of their correctness that they cannot seriously consider issues. They simply react. The people who wrote these articles have never thought about the environment because they are incapable of thinking. There is no choice. Like a computer, they apply the Basic Truths, and voilá, environmentalists become the bad guys. Applying the formula, they see that environmentalists are against just about everything they're for.

Mankind had better wake up and realize that there is a more basic truth than any of their hollow ideologies. The earth is the mother of life. In the vast void of space there is one shining miracle where all of the elements for life as we know it came together. In the past 100 years, all of our technological "advancement" has brought this miracle we live on to the brink of catastrophe.

Extinctions are occurring at the rate of over three per day. The fresh water table is falling over most of the planet, and it is

increasingly polluted. Doctors warn healthy people to stay indoors on certain days because of poor air quality in most of our cities. Our protective ozone layer is disappearing and our life-giving sun is threatening to give us cancer and wipe out agriculture. Rain forests that provide the oxygen we breathe disappear at a prodigious rate every day, to be replaced by unsustainable agriculture for two or three seasons. Overpopulation threatens to overrun the planet's resources and its ability to regenerate, as well as producing untold human suffering. During several African famines this decade, people have starved to death at the rate of over 50,000 *per day*. Anti-environmentalist forces argue that the greenhouse effect has not been proven with evidence. It is so logical that only an imbecile would deny that eventually there could be hell to pay, current evidence or no. The water in the Great Lakes is laced with acid (don't drink it), the air in L.A. is laced with noxious gases (don't breathe it), the shellfish in the Gulf of Mexico are laced with toxins (don't eat them). America, the land of opportunity.

Environmentalists are calling for massive change in the way we live. Has there not been massive change from the way mankind lived 200, 100, or even 20 years ago? Change is inevitable—it's just a matter of what kind of change. Many of these writers worry about losing their standards of living. A rethinking of that phrase needs to be done. The Indians that lived in the Western Hemisphere lived in sustainable harmony with their environment, until "civilization" arrived. Were they happier than modern people? One telling statistic is that they had a great deal more leisure time than we do. They also lacked our drug and alcohol abuse problems. Could it be that we are trying to escape what we have created?

Anti-environmentalists have a problem with the word *sustainable*. Is it logical to base a society, an economy, a way of life on a finite, nonrenewable energy resource that pollutes the environment as it is used? What will we do when the oil is gone? Our current practices are unsustainable. In farming we burn an inordinate amount of the calories we collect as food using modern methods. We are also using toxic chemicals, lowering the water table through irrigation, and washing our top soil into the ocean. We are dumping more gases and pollutants into the atmosphere than it can assimilate. Clear-cutting forests faster than they can regenerate, leaving no home for other living beings. Generating trash that we can find no disposal site for. Generating human populations that exacerbate all of our problems, but on the simplest level cannot be fed without unsustainable farming methods. Transportation systems based on finite energy resources. Heating and electrical systems based on the same. Using pesticides that insects grow resistant to so that they become even more pernicious.

As these methods are unsustainable, they will be changed someday. If left, they will result in the deaths of millions of humans and other life forms, if not extinction. We can start now or we can make the planet uninhabitable. Then the religious fundamentalists will at least make heaven, but I'm afraid capitalism and individual liberty will be in the ash heap of history.

James R. Clark
Van Nuys, CA

AS A LIBERTARIAN environmentalist I struggle daily with the conflict between the two convictions. The right to exploit resources ends when natural areas are adversely impacted. Capitalism has already destroyed 90 percent of America's wetlands and most of the rest of the continent's natural areas in the quest for human convenience; we could erase in our lifetime what took millions of years to be created. The interconnectedness of all life ensures that their fate will eventually be ours.

This exploitation is outrageous because so much of the resource is wasted. Judicious use of the resources that we take would decrease our need for those resources by a factor of 10. Sustainability should be the goal of capitalist and environmentalist alike.

I also object to your assertion that land cannot own itself. Under the current sys-

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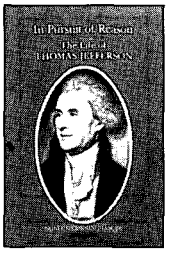

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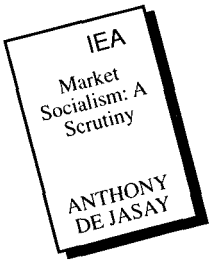

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tem of property laws, land has been "owned" for only 200 years or so. Left to its own devices, a natural area produces oxygen, clean water, and an abundance of wildlife; cut down, paved over, and built upon, the land produces only heat, erosion, pollution, and, of course, commercial exchange.

Exchange, logic, and science are valid in the proper place. The issue is whether these systems have a right to replace all other types of existence. Many of us believe that "nature" has a right to exist in and of itself, and man may no more destroy that existence in the quest for natural resources than a mugger may kill his victim in the search for currency. Does your "right" to throwaway packaging, air conditioning, and pesticide outweigh the bald eagle's right to exist and my right to breathe clean air?

Allen Turnage
Conyers, GA

VIRGINIA POSTREL justifiably and expertly attacks the "back to nature" and Earth Day environmentalists. Their sophomoric attempts to return to a time that never was needs lots of exposure. However, your attacks on Paul Ehrlich and zero population growth are supported by nothing more than the fact that the apocalypse has not arrived yet.

If you have an argument to show that increasing population will not be a disaster, please publish it. We could all welcome the good news. If you have a libertarian solution for population growth, congestion, and pollution, then please start pushing it.

What seems more likely is that you can't conceive of any cure that allows each person to act out of complete self-interest, yet still fixes the problem. That suggests that the libertarian ideology is limited and can't be relied on for major problems. To stay with the ideology, you must deny the problem.

Ideology and religion constrain our already limited reasoning powers by forcing us to accept conclusions and ethics that were perhaps appropriate in a distant past. In science, when you fall in love with your own theory, you will fight bitterly to deny the validity of any experimental result that doesn't fit the theory.

I would suggest that REASON could be more true to its name if it squarely faced the major problem of population growth and began contributing reasoned, mature ideas towards its solution.

Charles Teasley
Long Beach, CA

WELL SAID, Virginia Postrel. Your article correctly points out the danger of following the extremists in the environmental movement. They are fanatic indeed. Like fanatics in any movement, they have their heads in the clouds and seem to live in a dream world. Thanks for keeping us in the real world.

However, we must remember that not all environmental problems are imaginary. If one thinks carefully about the problems, it becomes obvious that the basic problem is—too many of us. We now number 5 billion, and will double in 30 years to 10 billion! What to do?

More contraception seems to be the answer, yet nothing seems to be working now. The population continues to soar. Recognition of a problem is the first step to its solution. Perhaps if we recognize that overpopulation is the basic problem, and concentrate our efforts on that, a solution will follow.

Something must give. If we don't stop population growth, there will be more poverty, starvation, and human misery of all kinds. We must act soon.

D.P. Tracy
Toledo, OH

IN READING VIRGINIA POSTREL'S article, I became irritated, and a little insulted. I am not a green. I'm just upset when an article is professed to be serious, yet is mere ridicule.

I subscribe to *Utne Reader*, where I discovered *this* magazine (ironically). I don't agree with all of the views expressed there, but I have the good sense not to make a fool of myself by mocking those views and their forum.

I agree with Ms. Postrel's analysis of the current antiscience leanings, and I, too, am alarmed. I'm concerned that our lifestyles will backslide if the greens have their way. Nevertheless, I submit that they will resist a more rational way of thinking if they are berated by reactionary extremists.

I am absolutely sick of hearing sniveling like that of Ms. Postrel. The polarized views of the environment (drugs, porno, etc.) are bleated louder each day by lobbyists for the warring factions. I'm tired of allowing the debate on *my* future to be carried on via political warfare. It's reminiscent of the political rule: He who has the most money (or media access) will drag the talk down to the lowest possible level (and win).

I feel we would all be helped by rational people voicing the advantages of personal responsibility and freedom. The rational voices of years gone by have been stilled by time, but their deeds live on. Let's not tarnish their legacy, nor waste our breath whining.

Fred E. Valenzano
Bakersfield, CA

Ms. Postrel replies: Judging from the onslaught of hostile letters, REASON's April issue obviously hit a nerve. The criticisms fall into three broad categories: How dare we criticize conventional environmentalism without offering alternatives. How dare we be ideological. And how dare we question some particular environmentalist wisdom—most commonly, that overpopulation is a major threat.

If you can't say anything nice, Dr. Kaplan and Mr. Phelan tell us, don't say anything at all. While this principle may be a valuable rule for getting along with individuals you don't like, it is a poor guide to policymaking. There is indeed a great body of work applying ideas of private property and markets to environmental problems. Many of the brightest, most innovative people in academia and think tanks (including the Reason Foundation) are working on just such issues. REASON has featured and will continue to feature articles on these ideas.

But it is profoundly naive to think that "environmentalists" who are ideologically committed to dismantling industrial

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civilization will have any interest in discussing the application of property rights to the ocean or market incentives to controlling auto emissions. We have to be realistic about whom we can talk to.

Nor should we simply accept the environmentalist agenda—which is far more influenced by the extremists than many environmentalists like to acknowledge—and work to come up with slightly less interventionist ways of achieving it. Environmental issues involve not only *means*—usually cast as market/private property vs. command-and-control—but also *ends*. If your goal is to reduce air pollution to a level that doesn't significantly damage human health, you might set up an emissions trading scheme designed to achieve that (rather moderate) level. By contrast, if your goal is to rid the earth of automobiles, your idea of using "market incentives" may be to levy a $5,000 annual tax on every privately owned car.

Mr. Shireman represents exactly the kind of environmentalist with whom we can talk. But he is far too eager to lump himself in with the extremists. Rather than attack us for making fun of them (as Andrew Ferguson did), questioning their calls for immediate and drastic actions (as Charles Oliver did), or examining their underlying ideology (as I did), he ought to be distancing his own legitimate concerns from those of the people-hating stasis mongers. I do believe they're dangerous. (Sorry to be so grim, but Mr. Shireman didn't care for Andy Ferguson's lighthearted, optimistic approach either.) In my own article, I strove to differentiate the stasis-exalting "greens" from people who are simply concerned with a cleaner world. It's not an easy task, however, since almost no self-identified environmentalists will make the same distinction.

Mr. Shireman also raises an important point: Are we just nostalgic for an industrial past? To the contrary, my greatest concern is for industries yet unborn. Environmental extremism poses a far lesser threat to dirty, established industries than it does to new technologies. Partly this is a matter of political power—Robert Byrd speaks for West Virginia coal miners, but biotechnology has no senator—and partly it is a matter of goals. If you're out to impose stasis, you start by stopping innovation—whether it's biotechnology in West Germany or nuclear power here.

Like Mr. Shireman, Mr. Clark attacks us for being ideologues. We are. Our view of the political good is founded on the ideal of individual liberty. One of the major classical-liberal arguments for that political ideal is that individual liberty is essential to the pursuit of truth—making that pursuit, at least in my own hierarchy of values, primary. To suggest that we ignore truth to pursue ideology is to disregard the essence of that ideology.

But, of course, ideology does have some influence on one's perceptions—as is evident by Mr. Clark's litany of green truisms. His ideal society is that of the American Indians before the coming of the Europeans—a life of subsistence agriculture or hunting and gathering. His recital of truths, half-truths, and outright falsehoods—too lengthy to rebut point by point—serves merely to reinforce the notion that we ought to return to this imagined Eden, before industry, medicine, literacy, or any other modern evils. With Mr. Shireman, one can discuss technocratic solutions to environmental problems. With Mr. Clark, one can't.

Mr. Turnage holds similar views, though he apparently doesn't realize it. We like bald eagles, too, and I, for one, would pay quite a bit of money to see them preserved. But to grant " 'nature' a right to exist in and of itself" and to declare that "man may no more destroy that existence in the quest for natural resources than a mugger may kill his victim in the search for currency" is to philosophically force us back into caves. If this is true, what gives us the right to cut down trees or dig up clay to build houses? To enslave cotton or sheep to make clothing? To eat anything that hasn't already fallen off a tree? This is nonsense and, translated into political action, it is dangerous nonsense.

Mr. Teasley and Mr. Tracy criticize us for failing to jump on the population-control bandwagon. We do, indeed, believe that people are the earth's most valuable resource, not a cancer to be wiped out. But there is nonetheless a "cure" for population growth, and it works every time. It is prosperity. For whatever reason, people have far fewer children when they have more wealth. It happens in every country, including Catholic ones. So insofar as they hamper economic progress, green prescriptions make rapid population growth more, not less, likely.

Finally, I think the *Utne Reader* is a fine magazine, full of well-written, interesting articles. I just happen to disagree with most of them.

Who Paid the Bills?

In "The Green Road to Serfdom," you wrote: "Research for [Brandon] Mitchener's article, which was published in the environmentalist magazine, *E*, was funded by the reputedly conservative Reader's Digest Foundation."

Reader's Digest Foundation has not provided funding to Mr. Mitchener or *E* magazine, nor do we have any record showing they ever requested funding.

The DeWitt Wallace-Reader's Digest fund, which is a separate charitable foundation, apparently received a request for funds from Doug Moss, publisher of *E*—but his request was denied in November of 1988.

J. Edward Hall
President
Reader's Digest Foundation
Pleasantville, NY

E magazine itself reported that the article was supported by the Reader's Digest Foundation. After further investigation, the foundation has determined that Mr. Mitchener received an indirect grant through his journalism school. We regret passing along incomplete information.—Eds.

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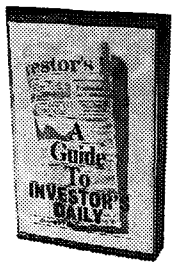

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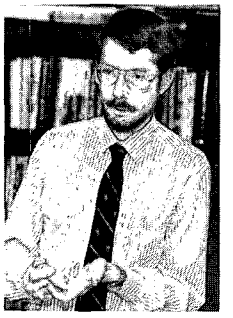
Privatization Takes Off

Financially strapped cities could receive a $23-billion windfall immediately and millions of dollars in extra taxes each year. Air travelers would enjoy a greater variety of fares, more timely service, and better amenities at airports. Private investors could earn tidy profits while enhancing airline safety and efficiency. A January study by the Reason Foundation revealed that these benefits could be had by privatizing the nation's airports.

Foundation president Robert W. Poole, Jr., who wrote the study, says, "My most pleasant surprise has been the interest and enthusiasm we have received from local governments." Lockheed Air Terminal, which operates the Burbank, California, airport, is trying to buy the airport in Albany, New York. The Philadelphia City Council has hired a consultant to study the sale of its international airport. And the city of Los Angeles might sell or lease LAX.

What caught the attention of local officials? Local governments own all commercial airports (except for federally owned National and Dulles in Washington, D.C.), so airports aren't on the property tax rolls. Airport authorities now get back only 18.5 percent of the ticket-tax funds they generate. As a result, they have few financial incentives to maintain or upgrade their facilities.

But Poole reports that a capacity crunch threatens air travelers. Seventeen airports are now classified as "seriously congested" by the Federal Aviation Administration, and three dozen others are heading in that direction before the year 2000. With the number of airline passengers expected to double this decade, and only one new airport even on the drawing board (in Denver), new terminals and runways are needed now.



Poole: Privatizing airports would relieve congestion and generate new tax revenue.

Poole's study estimates that selling the 50 largest U.S. airports to private investors would yield an immediate $23.5 billion in revenue to their current government owners. In private hands, airport property would also annually generate about $400 million in property taxes, and the new corporate owners would pay about $600 million in federal income taxes.

Private operators could build new facilities faster, conduct tougher negotiations with airlines for landing slots, and charge peak-hour fees or use other market-oriented strategies to reduce congestion. (Copies of the study are available from the Reason Foundation for $10 each.)

Internationally, airport privatization is already off the ground. The British Airport Authority privately owns and operates the world's largest international airports, Heathrow and Gatwick. Istanbul, Turkey, plans to build a new private terminal. And Lockheed will open a 24-gate international terminal in Toronto this September.

—Rick Henderson

Free at Last! Free at Last!

If it seems like your taxes were higher than ever this year, you're probably right. This year's Tax Freedom Day was May 5, the latest it has ever been. That means that the average American worked 125 days just to pay state, federal, and local taxes. On average, every cent we earned from January 1 to May 5 went to some level of government.

Year	Tax Freedom Day
1945	April 1
1950	April 3
1955	April 9
1960	April 17
1965	April 15
1970	April 28
1975	April 28
1980	May 1
1984	April 28
1985	May 1
1986	May 2
1987	May 4
1988	May 2
1989	May 3
1990	May 5

Source: Tax Foundation

JONATHON NOURAK

Canceling the Postal Monopoly

By simultaneously proposing a 19-percent postage increase and a series of service cutbacks, the U.S. Postal Service has inadvertently fueled the fires for postal privatization. Supporters of deregulation are looking closely at New Zealand's competitive postal service; privatization critics would rather ignore it.

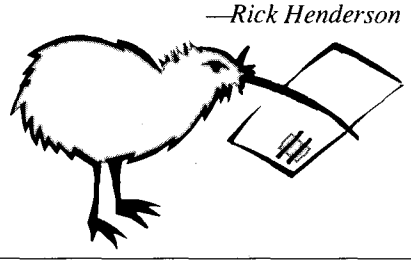
New Zealand "corporatized" and deregulated its postal service in 1987. The government maintained ownership of the corporation but ceased subsidies and ended its monopoly on letter delivery. This forced the postal service to operate profitably while facing competitors. The law requires the postal service to continue serving every address in the nation.

To restructure its postal service, the government closed more than two-thirds of its post offices and allowed private retailers to set up contract stations. Since decontrol, the net number of post offices has increased by 17 percent. On-time delivery of first-class letters has increased from 84 percent to 99 percent, while automation and contracting out operations have reduced the postal workforce by one-fifth.

Postage rates went up by 40 percent in the two years prior to decontrol; they have been stable since. Yet the postal service has gone from annual losses of $37 million to yearly profits of $76 million.

Will studying New Zealand's experience provide lessons for the United States? In the *Wall Street Journal*, Postal Rate Commissioner John Crutcher said: "U.S. Postal Service officials who go to New Zealand return chastened and silent. The U.S. post office is not the cheapest or the most efficient in the world; it's only the biggest."

—Rick Henderson



Beware of Warnings

The recording industry has lately been observing a strange variation of the Golden Rule: Do unto yourself what others would do unto you (only be gentler).

The industry recently applied this maxim to head off a host of state bills that would have required warning labels on objectionable music and imposed penalties on retailers who failed to comply. The legislative movement began in Missouri, where the proposed label would have read, "WARNING: May contain explicit lyrics descriptive of or advocating one or more of the following: nudity, satanism, suicide, sodomy, incest, bestiality, sadomasochism, adultery, murder, morbid violence, or any deviate sexual conduct in a violent context, or the use of illegal drugs or alcohol. PARENTAL ADVISORY."

Similar bills were introduced in 17 other states, and one was approved by the Pennsylvania House of Representatives. Some of the measures would also have banned sales of nasty music to minors.

In the spring, after the major record producers agreed to a system of uniform labels reading, "Explicit Lyrics—Parental Advisory," the legislators who introduced the bills announced that they would drop them.

But government officials who are outraged by the likes of Ozzy Osbourne, Mötley Crüe, and Twisted Sister don't need new laws to fight the forces of darkness. In March, for example, police in Sarasota, Florida, arrested a record store employee for selling an 11-year-old the album *As Nasty as They Wanna Be* by the rap group The 2 Live Crew. The clerk was charged with selling harmful materials to a minor, a felony. The campaign against dirty lyrics has also given a new lease on life to state obscenity laws, which provide a pretext for an even broader assault. Several record-store chains have already announced that they will no longer sell controversial recordings.

—Jacob Sullum

Trail-Blazing Schools

Louisiana won't be the only part of the country to consider expanding school choices this year. (See "Bayou Book-Learnin', " Trends, May.) A pilot program in Milwaukee, Wisconsin, will provide private tuition vouchers for as many as 1 percent of the city's poorest public school students. And in November, Oregon voters will have the chance to place a tuition tax credit plan in motion statewide.

The Oregon Educational Choice Initiative would mandate open enrollment among public school districts and provide tax credits of up to $2,500 per student for private or home schooling.

Under the initiative, when a student opts out of the public schools, his local school district will return to the state about half of that student's per-pupil expenditure; this money will more than pay for the tax credit. The credits will then be paid to parents along with regular state income-tax refunds. Low-income families who pay less than $2,500 in taxes will get a rebate.

Oregonians for Educational Choice, the group sponsoring the initiative, projects that the state will break even if 8 percent of public students select private schools. If 20 percent use the plan, the state will save more than $100 million. A March poll conducted by Bardsley and Neidhart, the state's largest polling agency, found that 40 percent of those queried support the initiative; 35 percent oppose it. As of late April, the initiative looked likely to qualify for the November ballot.

Oregon's teachers' unions and its major-party candidates for governor strongly oppose the initiative. Steve Buckstein, outreach coordinator of OEC, reports that those public officials who privately support the initiative refuse to publicly do so until it gains ballot status.

—Rick Henderson

BALANCE SHEET

Assets

Winged Victory. Orbital Sciences Corp. launches two military satellites, proving that small rocket companies can get cargo into space. Orbital's innovative approach—in which the space-bound rocket is hoisted aloft on a B-52 instead of a huge booster rocket—costs $6,000 per pound of payload, less than a third the cost of conventional liftoff. And it gives small satellites, previously relegated to "secondary payloads" on the shuttle or private heavy launchers, a first-class way to fly.

Going Native. Japanese companies in the Midwest play garlic to the recession vampire. They employ 103,000 workers in six states—a 66-percent increase from 1988. Meanwhile, Nissan plans a minivan to be made, start to finish, in America; Honda has similar, though less specific, plans. So much for the theory that Japanese car companies will let Americans *build* cars (and buy them) but will keep the "good jobs"—design and engineering—back in Tokyo.

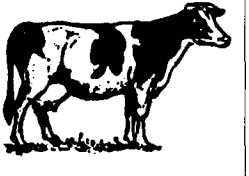
Post Mortem. Rebellion against the Postal Service grows. Ralph Nader leads a campaign to stop the proposed rate increase. Big mailers—publishers and direct marketers—are mad as hell and demanding better service. They provide USPS's profitable business but bear the brunt of its high-handed approach to captive customers. (Complain too loudly, and they'll target you for extra-*special* treatment.) This monopoly, too, will fall.

Class Act. Public-school innovation proceeds, if only by baby steps. Districts learn schools don't have to be standardized to be good. In Miami Berlitz teaches Spanish at one school; another school experiments with the Great Books; black kids in Liberty City flock to voluntary Saturday classes. Now Joseph A. Fernandez, the superintendent who unleashed all this creativity, takes on the ultimate challenge: the New York City schools.

Liabilities

Spent Thrifts. The S&L bailout bill tops $500 billion. That's about a fifth of a year's GNP. How, how, how, did even crooks and wastrels manage to fritter away that much money? Where did they find that many bad deals? And why is the government waiting even a single day to sell the property it has collected? Holding out for some imagined "assessed value" is nuts. We're just losing interest. Get the money back. Now.

Cowed. Minnesota and Wisconsin ban bovine somatotropin (BST), a growth hormone that boosts milk production dramatically. (See "Technology, Ecology, and the American Farmer," Dec. 1989.) Cows produce a virtually identical hormone naturally; chemical companies produce BST using genetic engineering. The stuff is a green bête noir. Since letting farmers use it would make milk plentiful—crashing prices or busting the farm-subsidy budget—banning BST is politically irresistible. Score one for Jeremy Rifkin.



Red Down. The Soviet economy crashes. Real *perestroika*—private property, markets, *profits*—is nowhere in sight. Foreign travelers to Moscow are told BYOB (bring your own breakfast, and lunch, and dinner). These are dangerous times.

No Vacancy. Two years ago, when Congress decided to require that all new apartments be handicapped-accessible, REASON asked apartment builders—in the form of several trade associations—what the law meant for new construction. Duh, they said, we haven't given it a thought. Now the law is real—and it's going to cost a bundle, maybe $4,000 per new apartment. Another victory for affordable housing.

—Virginia I. Postrel

Porn Tactics

U.S. District Judge Thomas Penfield has declared unconstitutional one of the tactics commonly used by the Justice Department against alleged pornographers.

Penfield forbade the government from bringing any more indictments against Avram Freedberg, who has been indicted for distributing obscene films in Utah and brought before the grand jury on obscenity charges in four other jurisdictions. Penfield wrote that "simultaneous criminal prosecutions of the same individual for the same offense in four separate judicial districts cannot possibly be consistent with Due Process."

For the last three years, the Justice Department has used mail-order stings to try to wipe out big porn dealers. An agent orders the most shocking tapes advertised in one of the dealers' catalogues, and the government indicts the distributor on porn charges. (See "Untruth and Consequences," Feb.) The government usually files the charges in small communities in the South or Midwest.

"The technical term is 'forum shopping,' " says Herald Price Fahringer, general counsel to the First Amendment Lawyers Association. "They take you into the conservative areas—the Bible Belt or somewhere—where they have the best chance."

The Justice Department defended the practice by claiming that if the materials were obscene, then the law had been broken in each jurisdiction. But critics charged that multiple indictments were really just fishing expeditions, in which prosecutors filed several indictments in the hope that one jury would convict.

And even if that didn't happen, the distributor might try for a plea bargain—agreeing to go out of business if the government dropped the charges—rather than foot the bill for separate defenses in several jurisdictions. Penfield ruled that the government may prosecute from any area that received films but must pick one area only.

—Charles Oliver

Urine or You're Out

Advocates of workplace drug testing make their strongest arguments where safety is involved. Nobody, they say, would want pilots, bus drivers, or air-traffic controllers operating under the influence.

A new alternative to urinalysis better addresses public-safety concerns without invading employees' privacy. It directly measures impairment—regardless of its cause—rather than simply picking up traces of illegal drugs.

The system, which resembles a video game, measures hand-eye coordination and reaction time, comparing them to the subject's performance on an earlier, baseline test. It takes only a few minutes to run, and it detects impairment due to alcohol, prescription drugs, fatigue, and other factors that do not turn up on conventional drug tests.

Urinalysis, by contrast, does not show impairment; it only indicates whether the subject has ingested certain illegal drugs. Traces of such substances linger in the urine long after the effects have worn off—in the case of marijuana, for weeks or months.

The new test, called Factor One, was developed by Systems Technology Inc. of Hawthorne, California, and is marketed by Performance Factors Inc. of Emeryville, California. Three California transportation companies have begun to use Factor One to test drivers and ship-crew members.

Factor One: A true impairment test.

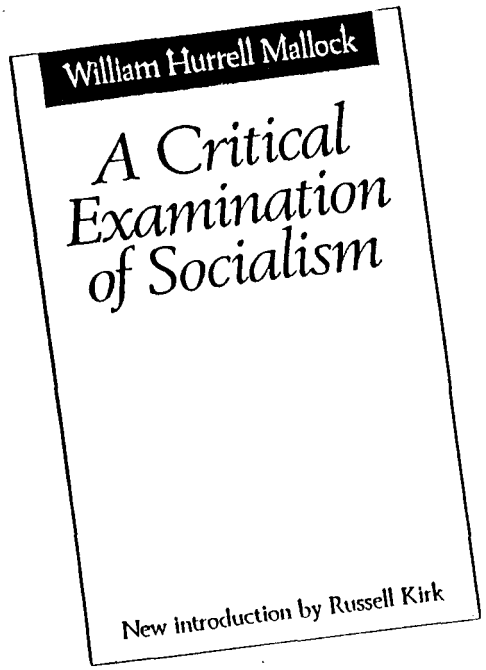
Don Harrison, general manager of Old Town Trolley Tours in San Diego, told the *New York Times* that the test has been well received by the company's employees. "I think most of them like the idea that we're judging them on their performance rather than on what they might have been doing a couple of nights ago," he said. "I like it because it's practical."

Factor One is based on a system developed by the National Aeronautics and Space Administration in the 1960s during research for the Skylab program. The Air Force has used the system, known as the critical tracking test, to investigate the ability of pilots to control damaged aircraft. The National Highway Traffic Safety Administration has successfully used CTT to detect drunk drivers.

So why has the federal government been pushing imprecise and needlessly intrusive drug tests instead? Ask Bill Bennett.

—*Jacob Sullum*

An astonishingly prophetic look at Socialism's fatal flaws



Free market reforms or not, Socialism keeps bouncing back because while it has failed economically, it has not been adequately answered.

Until and unless that happens—and the truth sinks in—expect ever "newer" forms of Socialism to rise out of the ashes of the old.

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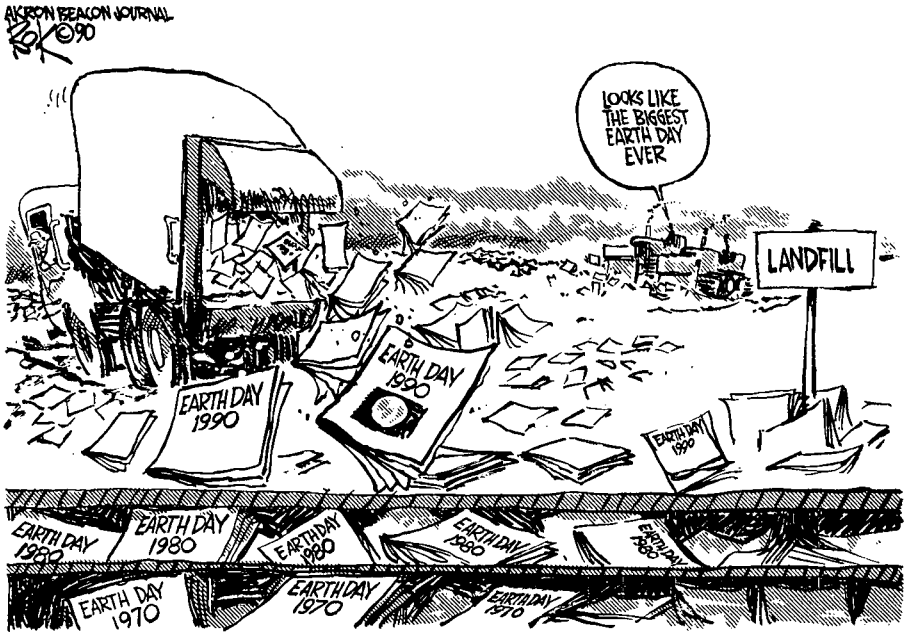
BRICKBATS

The sports world mourns the passing of Harold Ballard, longtime owner of the NHL's Toronto Maple Leafs. In addition to his love of hockey, Ballard was noted for his staunch individualism. After spending a year in jail for tax fraud in the early 1970s, the unrepentant Ballard told one critic, "If you got a chance to screw the government out of a few bucks, you'd do it, too."

Wal-Mart was one of the first companies to jump on board the environmental bandwagon, but maybe it's carried things a bit too far. Worried about the nation's landfills, the discount retailer has told manufacturers that it is looking for products "that are guaranteed not to last." What sort of commercials will this lead to? "Tired of kitchen appliances that last for decades? Then come to Wal-Mart. Anything you buy will break apart the day after the warrantee expires, and it's all biodegradable."

In North Carolina, a judge sentenced William Fry to 10 years in prison for violating that state's sodomy law. Fry admitted on the stand that his girlfirend had performed fellatio on him. *Playboy* reports that on the same day the same judge sentenced a murderer to a five-year sentence and an arsonist to an eight-year sentence. So if you're in North Carolina and someone performs oral sex on you, kill her. You'll eliminate the only witness to the sodomy. If the police do catch you, they can only pin the murder rap on you, and that means less time.

In its May 3 issue, *Rolling Stone* gives us its Environmental Hall of Shame. Along with the usual targets—Ronald Reagan, James Watt, George Bush—*Stone* goes after the *Wall Street Journal* editorial page because it is "always ready to mount a sycophantic defense of a corporate polluter." *Stone* magazine doesn't seem to mind sycophancy if it isn't aimed



at business, however. A typical *Stone* story is the in-depth profile of Axl Rose by the warbler's best friend. The magazine's aggressive brownnosing of angry rock stars has made it the *Tiger Beat* of the over-30 set.

On camera, Peter Jennings is the most competent and authoritative of the network news anchors, but off camera he seems to be a little goofy. *Spy* reports that Jennings recently went to the Dirksen Senate Office Building for his annual Capitol press pass renewal. When it was time to have his ID photo taken, Jennings sat down and asked the photographer to wait a minute. The cameraman watched, befuddled, as the newsman bent forward, spent a few minutes in deep concentration, then suddenly snapped upright and screamed, "Now!" Jennings denies the story.

Rep. Bob McEwen (R-Ohio) thinks he's found the way to win the drug war. He has introduced HR 3346, affectionately known as the bounty hunter act. This law would allow private citizens to bring in drug dealers and get 50 percent of the value of the assets the dealer forfeits if he is convicted. There's just one problem, Bob. Steve McQueen is dead.

It has been 22 years since Doris Day made a movie, but America's favorite virgin still tries valiantly to capture the public's eye. These days she's riding the animal-rights bandwagon into our hearts. Hunting, fur coats, animal testing, she's against it all. She even gave *The Cable Guide* her ideas on humane alternatives to animal testing. "I think they should experiment on murderers," opined the star of *That Touch of Mink*.

Sanitation crews scooped up 154.3 tons of litter left in Central Park by Earth Day celebrants. The debris was scattered all over the Great Lawn, the nearby woods, and even in the trees. The lawn itself was heavily damaged and several park fences were torn down. Earth Day organizers promised that the effects of the event would be felt for years to come. Well, that may be an exaggeration, but officials say it will take "several months" to clean up Central Park.

—Charles Oliver

WHY SHOULD YOU BE READING FREEDOM DAILY?*

Ask Our Readers:

*I am **mightily** impressed by your materials—most important, your philosophy.* —J.P. (Pennsylvania)

I do want to tell you that it is always a joy when your FFF Daily package arrives. It always seems to say to me "Open me last so you can enjoy the anticipation"—of settling down to enjoy its contents with delight. —H.M. (California)

I am especially appreciative for what I take to be your courage in speaking out on the "wrong" side of the drug issue in the April issue. —E.W. (Texas)

The letter [about Freedom Daily] from the Polish citizen was very interesting—and, again, living proof, as you often maintain, that ideas do have consequences, even world-wide. Also, Richard Ebeling's article, "Education, Businessmen and Economic Freedom," is well written and right on the mark. I've never met him, but he seems to compliment, very well, your outstanding ability and freedom ideology. The articles on our asinine drug laws in the April "Freedom" are some of the best I've ever read. —B.H. (Florida)

One of the best buys in recent months has been Freedom Daily; and now I find even more useful information coming with my subscription. I refer to the article on "Education, Businessmen and Economic Freedom" which states more clearly than anything I have read to date, the probable reasons for academia and the media, and businessmen, continuing to beat an obviously (to me) dead horse. I liked your analogy of government welfare being one of the most dangerous drugs of all. —C.B. (California)

Excellent material—not the least Richard's piece, "Education, Businessmen, and Economic Freedom," continues to issue from FFF. I am impressed, as are many others, and look forward to the next issue! Keep it up! —B.L. (Wisconsin)

The stated principles of your Foundation and your work are worthy of the highest praise. I am thankful that there are at least a few people who cherish freedom and truly understand its value and the identity of its author. —A.E. (Texas)

Reading your status reports has been uplifting. It makes me feel like something is being done to promote liberty. The $100 I have enclosed is proof of my agreement with what you are doing. —P.S. (Texas)

Your comments about your talk show appearance in San Antonio and ending socialism in America are very interesting. I'm glad to hear your thoughts about the Income Tax. —A.S. (California)

I just, this morning, read your March addition to the flag controversy and found it stimulating and informative. Bringing a bit of Texas history to the uninformed could never hurt. And you went all the way in presenting the stark contrasts on nineteenth and twentieth century conceptions of individualism and governmental responsibilities. Definitely no compromise! —M.D. (Illinois)

*What a mess we are in! You write so well! My "quality" is failing rapidly. At age 83 and with severe diabetes, what can one expect? I'm enclosing $25 and hoping you/we never give up in **our** fight for freedom!* —W.R. (Florida)

Your "Open Letter to Russell Kirk" uses some of the best arguments ever in defense of the true libertarian ideals. You truly know your stuff. I was particularly impressed with your references to Jesus Christ—I have long believed Him to be the first Libertarian as well as our Savior and Master. Keep up the excellent work. —S.T. (Virginia)

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JULY 1990 FREEDOM DAILY

"The Forgotten Importance of Civil Liberties" by Jacob G. Hornberger, Founder and President, Future of Freedom Foundation

"The Bill of Rights" by Hugo L. Black, U.S. Supreme Court Justice, 1937-1971

"The Heritage of Economic Liberty" by Richard M. Ebeling, Ludwig von Mises Professor of Economics, Hillsdale College, and Academic Vice-President, Future of Freedom Foundation

"Give Me Liberty" by Rose Wilder Lane, author of **The Discovery of Freedom**

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HOW DATE-RAPE "EDUCATION" FOSTERS CONFUSION, UNDERMINES PERSONAL RESPONSIBILITY, AND TRIVIALIZES SEXUAL VIOLENCE.

"It sounds

BY STEPHANIE GUTMANN

like I raped you!"

Judging by the news and entertainment media, the problems of date and acquaintance rape have reached crisis proportions in recent years. A search in the database Nexis turns up 54 mentions of date or acquaintance rape in the *New York Times* during the past two decades—nearly half of them in the last year. Television shows such as "A Different World," "21 Jump Street" and numerous made-for-TV movies have featured date-rape themes. Oprah, Phil, Geraldo, and Sally have each taken a crack at the subject.

But although the barrage of media coverage has driven date and acquaintance rape into the public consciousness, the meaning of these terms is not at all clear. Hearing the phrase *date rape*, the average person probably imagines a scenario something like this: A man and a woman who have recently met go to dinner and a movie. He takes her back to her apartment afterward. She is tired and wants to get to sleep, but he wants to come in for some coffee. She lets him in out of politeness and sits next to him on the couch as he drinks his coffee. He overpowers her, pins her to the couch, and rapes her.

The experts whose research and warnings feed the alarming publicity have quite a different idea of date and acquaintance rape. Their definition, which goes far beyond both the legal and popular understandings of rape, would encompass a host of ambiguous situations that involve neither the use nor threat of violence. Under some versions of the new definition, a man who whined until his girlfriend agreed to have sex with him would be guilty of rape.

"Any sexual intercourse without mutual desire is a form of rape," writes Dr. Andrea Parrot, a psychiatry professor at Cornell University who specializes in studying date rape. "Anyone who is psychologically or physically pressured into sexual contact is as much a victim of rape as the person who is attacked on the streets."

The training manual for Swarthmore College's Acquaintance Rape Prevention Workshop states: "Acquaintance rape...spans a spectrum of incidents and behaviors ranging from crimes legally defined as rape to verbal harrassment and *inappropriate innuendo*." (Emphasis added.)

A former director of Columbia University's date-rape education program says: "Every time you have an act of intercourse there must be explicit consent, and if there's no explicit consent, then it's rape. Almost every woman I've ever talked to has had an experience where she's been in a situation where she's had intercourse where she's not really been a fully willing participant—I would call that rape. People don't have the right to use other people's bodies assuming anything. Stone silence throughout an entire physical encounter with someone is not explicit consent."

Although largely driven by feminist ideology, this redefinition of rape casts women as eternal victims, undermines personal responsibility, and trivializes the very idea of sexual violence. Combined with misleading statistics from weak studies, it fosters unrealistic fear and distrust. Nowhere are the effects of rape revisionism more pronounced than on college campuses.

"Colleges work to solve—and stop—a shockingly frequent, often hidden outrage," the subhead of a *Newsweek* story announces. "Fear Makes Women Campus Prisoners," howls a *Chicago Tribune* article describing students who, because of the "prevalence of date rape," stay in their rooms at night, cringe when classmates make "sexist" remarks, and keep "themselves out of threatening situations at parties."

Colleges throughout the country have announced large increases in reports of rape, usually from female students under 20 and generally involving friends or acquaintances. Meanwhile, date-rape education programs run by administrators or students have proliferated like amoebae in a jar.

Many schools have instituted Rape Awareness Weeks and appointed special deans to deal with sexual assault. In annual marches to "Take Back the Night," young women leap up, give frenzied testimony about their experiences as victims, and entreat members of the audience to testify as well, so that "others will have the courage to come forward." Educational videos, pamphlets, training manuals, and posters teach students about the dangers of date rape.

On a wall of Columbia University's student health service building is a bright red poster resembling a warning about radioactive material that announces: "Date Rape is Violence; Not a Difference of Opinion." A university program trains students for 10 weeks as date-rape educators and dispatches them to dorms to conduct seminars, video screenings, and discussion groups. The program is mandatory for all new fraternity and sorority pledges. At a recent gathering at Barnard College, an employee of New York City's Task Force Against Sexual Assault drew a group of young women into a circle and gravely informed them that "one in five dates end up in assault."

Since last fall, when five female students at Syracuse University reported being raped by acquaintances, the school has seen the creation of a student-organized group called SCARE (Students Concerned About Rape Education), a Rape Awareness Week, a Rape Task Force, plans for a Rape Education Center, and Speak Out rallies attracting as many as 200 members of the university community. "The epidemic of rape must come to an end on this campus," thundered an editorial in the student newspaper that fall. "This crime is running rampant at

Syracuse University...other [campus issues] pale in comparison to the apparent crime wave of rape striking all parts of this university."

By at least one measure—reports to campus security and police—all this alarm is puzzling. At Irvine, for example, campus security received only one report of rape in 1989—the year in which 60 rapes and sexual assaults were reported to the campus women's center. Columbia University's security department says it has received no reports of rape in the last five years, although in 1986 Ellen Doherty, a rape counselor at a hospital near Columbia, told *Newsweek* that acquaintance rape is "the single largest problem on college campuses today."

Those who perceive an acquaintance-rape crisis explain that women, understandably afraid of callous treatment by campus security and the police, are more willing to tell their stories to the sympathetic people at the local women's center. This explanation raises another issue, however. The people staffing these centers and similar institutions tend to assume that most acquaintance rapes go unreported and that, given skepticism in the past, believing the victim is of utmost importance. Since reporting challenges the system, encourages others to come forward, and empowers the individual, they consider it a positive good that should be encouraged.

Hence Parrot, the Cornell date-rape specialist, writes in a 1987 paper: "If the prevention strategies presented in the program are employed as suggested, participants should be at reduced risk for acquaintance rape involvement, and the report rate of acquaintance rape in your community should increase." Increasing the number of reports is thus an end in itself.

"People respond to numbers," the aforementioned employee of New York's Task Force Against Sexual Assault told her Barnard charges. The bigger the numbers, she explained, the bigger the indictment of a society in which sexual assault is rampant and condoned. Attempts to verify reports through investigation or clarify them through in-depth interviews would therefore be counterproductive.

The reliability of report figures is not the only source of doubt about the alleged rape crisis. The broader statistical foundation for acquaintance-rape alarm, including the survey data that college administrators solemnly invoke, is also deeply flawed.

The University of Illinois provides a good example of how flimsy studies and dubious research conclusions are embraced by the press and become the basis for campus policy. Once again, the university was primarily concerned with acquaintance rape. Although the Urbana campus had been haunted twice in the previous five years by a nonstudent serial rapist, the school's Rape Awareness and Prevention Committee had concluded that "the greater risk to women students involv[es] sexual assault by their male friends, boyfriends, and acquaintances."

Following reports of increases in date rape at other schools, the University of Illinois created a Campus Task Force on Sexual Assault, Abuse, and Violence in 1989. The task force attempted to measure the school's date rape problem with a survey that was mailed to 1,460 women on the 35,000-student campus. It classified 16.4 percent of the 537 students who replied as victims of "criminal sexual assault," defined as intercourse with a clearly expressed lack of consent.

Last winter the task force issued a report offering recommendations based on the survey's evidence that the university environment "engenders sexual abuse." The report advocated abolishing the school's intramural, all-female pom-pom squad, "instituting a mandatory human relations program" for all undergraduates covering "the risk of and responsibility for sexual misconduct," and adding provisions covering sexual misconduct to the school's code of behavior. Punishable by expulsion, sexual misconduct would be defined as intercourse without the female's knowing consent.

"Any sexual intercourse without mutual desire is a form of rape," writes Dr. Andrea Parrot.

"A person who is intoxicated is incapable of giving knowing consent...a person who is under any form of coercion (including physical, psychological, academic, or professional) is not free to give consent," the report stated. Finally, the task force recommended "investigating and seeking to eliminate the prevalent philosophies, cultures and attitudes of fraternities and other organizations that are built on sexism, lack of respect for women, and that lead to violence against women."

The task force's recommendations and the results of its survey were soon picked up by the local press and aired on National Public Radio's "All Things Considered." The *Chicago Tribune*'s story began with the pithy factoid, "16.4 percent of female students who responded to a questionnaire had been raped"—suggesting that this finding was representative of the entire student population.

The reporter failed to address important shortcomings of the survey. For example, the sample was self-selected, a significant problem since the questionnaire was rather lengthy. "If people have never had any experience with this, they're not going to even bother" with the survey, says Kalman Kaplan, a psychologist at Wayne State University.

SARA SWAN

The bias was compounded by the title of the questionnaire, "Survey of Sexually Stressful Events," which may have predisposed respondents to view ambiguous situations in a particular light. Kalman adds that it's not clear what meaning respondents attached to key terms used in the survey. For example, the survey includes a question asking whether the parties had been sexually intimate before, but it does not try to determine what kind of signals would have constituted "resistance" in the context of the relationship. Even Vice Chancellor Stanley Levy, who defends the survey, admits that "you have difficulty in extrapolation" from its findings.

The *Chicago Tribune* bolstered the University of Illinois study with figures from another, highly influential poll. The story declared that women at the university "apparently have good reason" to be scared because "a nationwide survey...by Mary Koss, a psychiatry professor at the University of Arizona, found that one in four women reported having been the victims of rape or attempted rape, usually by acquaintances."

Koss's numbers, especially the one-in-four firgure, are widely cited. They come from the *Ms.* Campus Project on Sexual Assault, considered the most comprehensive study of campus sex crimes. In 1982, using a $267,500 National Institute of Mental Health grant procured by the magazine, Koss and a platoon of assistants fanned out across the country to administer a "Sexual Experiences Survey" to college students. After three years of data collection and tabulation, Koss announced her findings: "25 percent of women in college have been the victims of rape or attempted rape," and "84 percent of these victims knew their assailants."

Koss went to great lengths to obtain a representative, sufficiently large sample. Still, there are obvious problems with her study.

Koss obtained her data on the "incidence and prevalence of sexual aggression" with a 10-item survey featuring questions such as, "Have you given in to sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because you were overwhelmed by a man's continual arguments and pressure?" (number 6) and "Have you had sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because a man threatened or used some degree of physical force (twisting your arm, holding you down, etc.) to make you?" (number 9). A positive answer to question 6 or question 7 (which asks whether the subject has been pressured into sex by someone in a position of authority) labeled the respondent a victim of sexual coercion. A positive answer to any of questions 8 through 10 put a respondent in the rape category.

Question 9 and question 10 (which also refers to the use of force or threats of violence) seem to fit the conventional picture of rape, but consider question 8: "Have you had sexual intercourse when you didn't want to because a man gave you alcohol or drugs?" In the terminology of psychological testing, this question is considered "double-barreled": Exactly what it's asking is not clear. For example, it might be interpreted as asking if the respondent has exchanged sex for alcohol or drugs. Koss was probably trying to identify respondents who had been raped while incapacitated. Still, the question's wording clearly invites respondents to put the blame for an unpleasant or ambiguous event on alcohol or drugs, mysterious forces over which one has no control.

Another problem with the survey is its leading quality. In a properly designed survey, important or more meaningful questions should be interspersed with filler items, Kaplan says, not grouped together in order of ascending seriousness as Koss did. "If a person answers yes to the first question you're almost preparing them to answer yes to a later one," he says "If they came at you with questions 8, 9, 10 to begin with, you'd probably have fewer positive responses to those questions."

In general, surveys such as Koss's encourage women to reinterpret sexual experiences after the fact. University of Chicago psychologist Catherine Nye notes that 43 percent of the women classified as rape victims by the Koss study *had not realized they'd been raped.* "Well, I think if you don't know you've been raped," Nye says, "then probably you're talking about a situation which has to be redefined, reconstructed."

Indeed, Parrot, the Cornell psychiatrist, has said that "only one [rape] incident in 100 to 150 is reported to police, sometimes because women don't recognize the sexual assaults as rape. Education is necessary to sensitize both men and women to what constitutes rape."

And here is the crux of the matter: If you have to convince a woman that she has been raped, how meaningful is that conclusion? Her "education" requires her to adopt a different understanding of rape. Consider how the new definition is applied.

Columbia University uses a scene from the movie *She's Gotta Have It* to illustrate the dynamics of date rape: The female protagonist is at home, depressed after having broken up with her boyfriend. She calls him and begs him to come see her. Bitter over the fact that she has been unable to be faithful to him (which he has taken as a rejection), he at first refuses. She continues to plead, and eventually he relents—obviously apprehensive about getting sucked into the vortex again with this seductive but capricious woman.

When he arrives she throws her arms around him and pleads with him to make love to her. They argue. She tries intermittently to embrace him; he is furious, shaking her off, but perhaps enjoying the fact that the role of the needy one in the relationship is now reversed. Finally, still suffused with bitterness and fury, he pushes her coarsely onto the bed, and—saying, "You want it; you've got it!"—takes her from behind, violently and angrily. She whimpers, "What are you doing?" or some such protestation a couple of times, but she submits—making no effort to resist—in an exhausted, masochistic way.

It isn't pretty—but it isn't rape.

Not, at least, according to Richard Uviller and Vivian Berger, two Columbia University law professors. "This is certainly not rape," says Uviller, a criminal law specialist. "It just seems like seduction to me."

"It certainly doesn't seem like rape to me," agrees Berger,

who has studied rape law extensively. "Under the more technical definition in New York, it seems to me that she doesn't fear any kind of injury."

In the effort to distinguish between rape and seduction, sex offense and offensive sex, most rape laws have set the same basic criteria: There must be an expressed lack of consent and/or coercion by force or threat of force. In New York, "forcible compulsion" is defined as "to compel by either the use of physical force or a threat express or implied which places a person in fear of immediate death or physical injury to himself, herself, or another person."

Intent is another important ingredient of criminal law. "A man cannot be guilty of a crime he doesn't know he's committed," Uviller says.

Some legal scholars, however, are building a philosophical base for a change in the law that would dramatically affect the way judges and juries are obliged to think about sexual relations. In her 1987 book *Real Rape*, Susan Estrich, a law professor at the University of Southern California and former campaign manager for Michael Dukakis, discusses the "reasonable woman" standard frequently invoked in ambiguous rape cases. The judge's view "of a reasonable person is one who does not scare easily, one who does not feel vulnerable, one who is not passive, one who fights back, not cries," she writes. "The reasonable woman...is a man."

Estrich would eliminate the defense that the man charged with rape honestly believed there was consent. "Consent should be defined so that no means no," she writes. Women should be "empower[ed] in potentially consensual situations with the weapon of a rape charge."

But in many sexual encounters, things are not so clear-cut, especially when the man and woman have deep feelings for each other or have engaged in sex previously. The picture is further clouded by the tradition that men should take the sexual initiative, the inclination of some women to voice resistance in order to avoid appearing "easy," and the prevalent belief that saying no is a mere convention, part of foreplay.

Other legal scholars see dangers in the direction that Estrich recommends: "We don't want the law to patronize women," Berger wrote, reviewing Estrich's book in *Criminal Justice Ethics*. "To treat as victims in a legal sense all of the female victims of life is at some point to cheapen, not celebrate, the rights to self-determination, sexual autonomy, and self and societal respect of women."

Legal definitions change as society changes and after sustained pressure from interest groups. The law is not written in stone, and sometimes it is wrong. But comparing the legal meaning of rape to the new definition helps measure the gap between the thinking of the rape revisionists and community standards, which have slowly shaped our current laws. Moreover, the comparison demonstrates the difficulty of estimating how many of the women who are classified as rape victims based on the meager information provided by surveys would be considered rape victims under the law.

Legal reform aside, many feminists see value in broader use of the word *rape*, even if they don't seriously propose to prosecute anyone on that basis. "In terms of making men nervous or worried that they might be overstepping their bounds, I don't think that's a bad thing," Parrot says. "Our culture has given men permission to ignore womens' wishes, to disregard appropriate responses to sexual interactions."

Leaving aside the question of whether such an approach is fair to men, what effect does the redefinition of rape have on women? In addition to generating inappropriate alarm, it encourages young women to isolate troubling and ambivalent feelings in a cell called rape—far away from honest examination. The story of "Jane," a student at a prestigious midwestern university, is illustrative.

Jane and a girlfriend have been pressuring their dean of students "to do something about date rape on campus." Action is needed, Jane says, because the "experience has affected people close in my life and I've seen what it's done to them. All of it could be prevented if people knew what they could do about it and really believed that it was wrong." Jane eventually agreed to talk about what she described as her own experience of date rape.

She had been living upstairs from a young man in a co-ed dorm for about six months. They talked often, hung out in each other's rooms, had pet names for each other, propped each other up during stressful times, and occasionally necked. One night just before spring break, the boy called Jane and asked if he could come up. Jane had just gone to bed, but she reluctantly agreed because she knew her friend had been feeling bad lately and wasn't looking forward to going home on break.

When he came in she could tell that he was very drunk. Then, she says, he "was all over" her. She squirmed in protest and said "c'mon...no," but he didn't seem to listen. She didn't scream or push him off, or, as she puts it, "have this big fit."

She's not sure why. "Partly it didn't really seem necessary—I thought, 'Well, he's my friend....I guess whatever happens, it's not going to be that bad.' I was afraid of making him mad. I was just, 'Well, let's keep the situation under control.'...I wasn't aware of the problem then or really what was happening....After it had happened, I thought, 'OK, I didn't want that, but it's not that bad 'cause he's a friend of mine'—you know, no big deal."

Jane went home for spring break and didn't think about the incident. Then, two weeks into the next term, she saw a presentation on date rape. She says she started realizing, "Oh my God, that's what happened to me!"

Jane and the boy eventually talked about that evening (their relationship had been awkward and strained ever since), but she didn't use the word *rape*—instead telling him, "I didn't want that; that was wrong." He filled in the blanks, she says. "God! It sounds like I raped you," he eventually stammered.

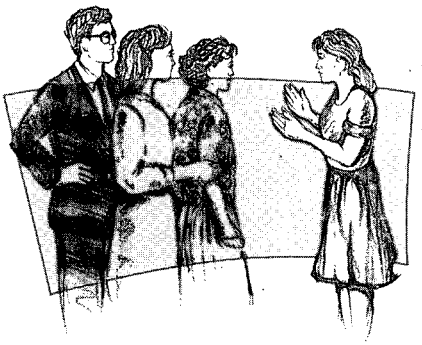
"He was totally speechless," she recalls. "He stared straight ahead for so long. He said, 'Oh my God, I can't believe I did this. I can't believe I hurt you. Don't hate me.' " He said he'd misinterpreted her squirming, thinking that she wanted to do it because that's what he wanted to believe.

"Looking back on it now," she says, "that's such an interesting thing: Date rape is such a real thing. It's not something made up because the media tells you it happens; it's not something you create. It's something that really is and really affects you without your knowing it."

Catherine Nye says she and her colleagues at the University of Chicago's student counseling service see many "Janes"—young women who are essentially troubled about sex, unclear in their own minds about what they want, and sometimes guilty about sexual desires—who lately have begun to use the term *date rape* to describe their sexual experiences. She laments the psychological effect of such evasion.

"It's so much more useful to deal with these things before they've gotten put in this box of date rape, because then...it's not all stuck over on this guy who did this bad thing to me," she says. "If they say 'date raped,' they don't have to think about their own behavior; they don't have to think about their feelings. There's no complicity, there's no responsiblity, and that's the nonfeminist piece of it as far as I am concerned."

> If you have to convince a woman that she has been raped, how meaningful is that conclusion?



An almost Victorian denial of complicity—of woman's emotional stake in the sexual relationship—is a big feature of the date-rape *oevre*. Man is entirely predatory; woman is entirely passive, a hapless victim, there by accident. Nye, asked by students to conduct a workshop on date rape, recently reviewed much of the training material available from Cornell and Swarthmore. "There was stuff in there that made my skin crawl," she says. "This training manual said things like, 'Don't let down your guard until you know a man really well—if at all.' I mean, talk about The Other!"

Man as "The Other" makes an appearance on the cover of Parrot's 1988 book *Coping with Date Rape and Acquaintance Rape*. The illustration portrays a couple on a date. The male figure is drawn as a devil, with horns, a Van Dyke beard, and a pitchfork tail pointing upward lasciviously. A leering, evil gleam in his eye, he stares slaveringly at the woman. She is blonde, with eyes cast demurely downward, almost closed.

The figures of the Machiavellian, predatory, demonic male and the innocent, asexual, passive, vulnerable female appear again in Parrot's description of a date:

"First, a rapist engages in intimate behaviors which make a female feel uncomfortable (for instance, by putting his hand on her thigh, or kissing her in a public place after knowing her for only a short time). This is common in party and bar situations when the music is so loud that the couple must be very close to each other to hear. In such situations it is not possible to maintain a comfortable distance from others.

"If the victim does not clearly object, the rapist proceeds to the second stage, in which he desensitizes the victim to the intrusion by escalating the behavior (moving his hand to her buttocks, for example). She may feel increasingly uneasy as a result of this behavior, and suggest going outside for "fresh air" hoping that she can create physical distance from him. Unless she actually tells him that she is uncomfortable with his 'roaming hands,' he may misinterpret her suggestion as meaning she wants to be alone with him. The third stage occurs when they are in an isolated place (such as outside, in his apartment, in his car, etc.) and the rapist insists on intercourse."

Clearly, this situation is one in which more assertiveness on the woman's part could make a crucial difference. But date-rape rhetoric and literature, Nye says, is often implicitly about "defining yourself as a victim and blaming the men, as opposed to saying we have a responsibility to take control here and to improve communication."

As Nye's experience indicates, this message appeals strongly to many young women. In the wake of the sexual revolution—in our brave new world of co-ed living, dorm condom dispensers, and hip health-service gynecologists who smile sunnily while asking their young clients if they've had any rough sex or group sex recently—college-age women may be trying to put some limits back on sexual behavior.

In an earlier era, there were various socially supported ways to say no, as well as all kinds of controls—segregated dorms, dorm mothers, curfew laws, *in loco parentis* policies in general—to give women greater room for delay and reflection. Women also had a perfectly respectable pretext for avoiding the complications of sex—"I might get pregnant"—that has been largely eliminated by readily available birth control.

Perhaps young women are looking for an "out" acceptable in the new campus environment, where sexual openness and enthusiasm are *de rigeur*. Given feminism's reigning orthodoxies, it's more acceptable to say that men are monsters, or that sex is fraught with potential violence to women, than to say, "I don't feel like it right now."

More fundamentally, the new definition of rape gives women a simple way of thinking about sex that externalizes guilt, remorse, or conflict. Bad or confused feelings after sex become someone else's fault. A sexual encounter is transformed into a one-way event in which the woman has no stake, no interest, and no active role. Assuming the status of victim is in many ways an easy answer—but not one befitting supposedly liberated women.

Stephanie Gutmann is a recent graduate of the Columbia School of Journalism.

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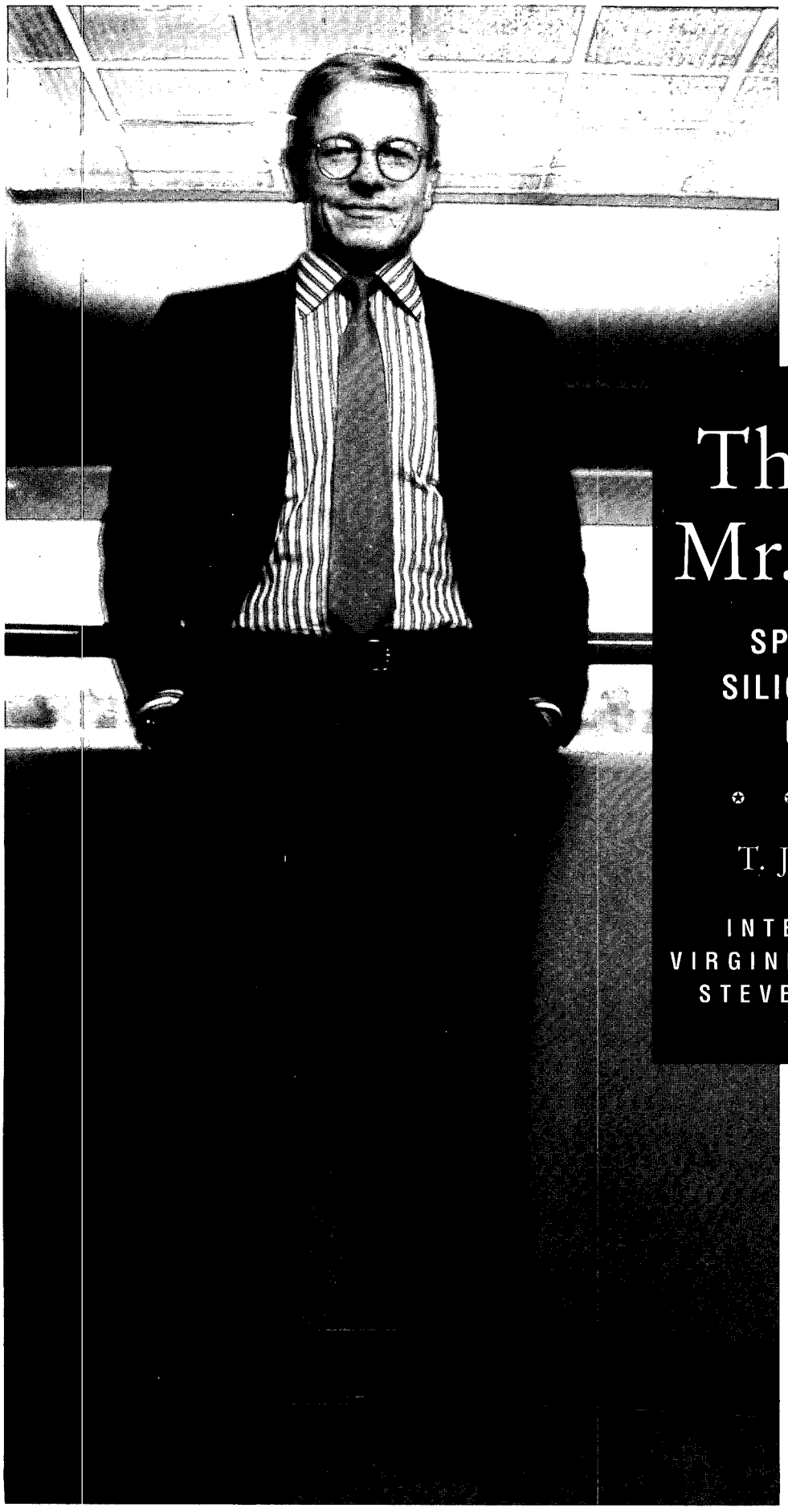


The New Mr. Chips

SPEAKING FOR SILICON VALLEY'S UPSTARTS

T. J. RODGERS

INTERVIEWED BY
VIRGINIA I. POSTREL &
STEVEN R. POSTREL

ED KASHI

Reason: In 1983, when you started Cypress, entrepreneurs were hot. Silicon Valley was looked to as the salvation of the country. Do you see a change since then?

Rodgers: Entrepreneurs are still regarded as generating technology, generating jobs. But the press has equated Silicon Valley with the entrepreneurs who got famous when Silicon Valley first came to their attention. So "Silicon Valley" equals "Intel, Advanced Micro Devices." What's really changed is that the people that run those companies are not entrepreneurs anymore. What real entrepreneurial company can afford to have a director of government relations or an office in Washington, D.C., that doesn't sell chips? What real entrepreneur has time to run to Washington to lobby for subsidies?

The classic example is [the government-financed R&D consortium] Sematech—absolute classic example. We have the big guys who are hurting, primarily self-inflicted wounds. They go to Congress. Declare America is in trouble because they're in trouble. They scream "Jap." They want $100 million a year to save America. And they get it.

The theory is the government puts in 100 million a year and they put in 100 million a year. Now, phase two is how do they channel the government money back to their companies and get away with it? First, there's mandatory sending of employees to Sematech. Well, in '85 and '86 [when the industry was in a slump] that's called a layoff. You can take your turkeys and send them to Sematech and subtract their salaries from the dues. Their newest boondoggle is a program where Sematech members get to use Sematech steppers—which are pieces of capital equipment costing roughly $2 million—for free.

Reason: Back in 1984, when people were talking about industrial policy, the argument that shot it down was the government shouldn't be picking winners.

Rodgers: Yes, yes.

Reason: The new argument is, "OK, we'll have an industry-led industrial policy. We'll allow the captains of industry to get together and essentially decide how the government money should be allocated." Is that what happened with Sematech?

Rodgers: Who's the captain of industry? The captain of industry is the guy who's got the best lobbyist in Washington. I'm absolutely sure saving America is equivalent to saving Intel in [Intel CEO] Andy Grove's mind—and he's a bad guy to pick because he runs a good big company. And I'm quite sure saving America is saving National Semiconductor in [National Semiconductor CEO] Charlie Sporck's mind. It's not at all clear to me that America's better off by using government money to save National Semiconductor.

The captains of industry happen to be the guys who lost it for us. Now they can claim that they are the losers because the Japanese played unfairly. They can claim they are the losers because they can't borrow money. But there are a whole lot of winners in the industry who lived on the same playing field, even at relative disadvantages to these guys.

Reason: For example?

Rodgers: Us. We're seven years old. We're $200 million a year. We're making 23 percent profit. And when I worry about who's sneaking up behind me, the members of Sematech are not on the list. I worry about other companies like us. I worry about Integrated Device Technology. I worry about Performance Semiconductor, which is a private company. I worry about small companies that are very energetic, very competitive, and have got good technology.

Reason: Why, in your mind, did the big companies lose?

Rodgers: Management. Lousy management. It's very clear. The Japanese manage manufacturing better than we do. We manage research and development on the R side better than they do. They manage research and development on the D side better than we do. And the handwriting's clear: If you don't work on manufacturing management—which equates to high-quality products, low-cost products, fast manufacturing—you're in trouble. We had the message in the early '80s and we didn't do anything about it. And to a large extent the large companies aren't doing anything about it right now.

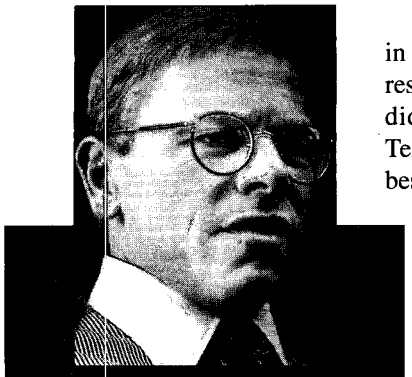
Reason: Alfred Chandler, the eminent business historian at Harvard, had this quote in *Fortune* magazine: "Silicon Valley is kind of our entrepreneurial dream—and a disaster. Those companies are very good, but they don't make big investments

People who like T.J. Rodgers describe him with words like *intense*, *brash*, and *cocky*. People who don't like him—and there are plenty of them in the semiconductor business—use more colorful language. But all of them have to admit that Rodgers is very successful, both in running his company and in derailing the latest fads in industrial policy.

At 41, Rodgers—a Stanford Ph.D. and, in the Silicon Valley tradition of one high-tech company spawning others, a "graduate" of Advanced Micro Devices—is president and CEO of Cypress Semiconductor Corp. The $200-million company is doing very well, thank you, despite the national fuss about Japanese competition in the chip business. Last December, Rodgers went to Congress to testify against U.S. Memories—a consortium of semiconductor companies designed to get the United States back into the commodity chip business by manufacturing DRAMs (dynamic random-access memory chips, pronounced dee-rams).

U.S. Memories would have gotten special exemption from antitrust laws—an exemption not available to Cypress or other companies—and was hoping for federal loan guarantees as well. But by the time T.J. Rodgers had finished attacking the idea—in Congress and in the press—U.S. Memories was a goner, unable to gain either private financing or political support. America, Rodgers maintains, has been spared a high-tech Amtrak.

REASON Editor Virginia Postrel and her husband, Steven Postrel, a management professor at UCLA, interviewed Rodgers at Cypress's San Jose, California, headquarters.



We do our designing here. We do our R&D here. We do all our manufacturing here. If you want to have an American contest, I win hands down.

in production and continued research. The three firms that did—Intel, Motorola, and Texas Instruments—are our best hope today." There's a feeling that a lot of these newer wave companies go off and have their designs made somewhere in Malaysia or Taiwan —that somehow they are stripping the industrial base of America.

Rodgers: Whoa... Whoa...Wait. First of all, the big guys are much more foreign than we are. We're an American company, I don't make anything in Malaysia. You want to find things made in Malaysia you ask Gordon Moore [chairman of Intel, or you ask Charlie Sporck, or you ask Jerry Sanders [CEO of Advanced Micro Devices] and you'll find as many jobs in Malaysia as in the United States. We do all our designing here. We do all our R&D here. We do all our manufacturing here. Which they do not. So if you want to have an American contest, I win hands down.

We invest 26 percent of our sales in R&D. There is *no* big company that invests 26 percent of their sales. It's more than double what Intel invests...

Reason: Few companies period.

Rodgers: Right. And we do it consistently, while we're reporting 23 percent profit. I don't think that if you took 10 medium-sized semiconductor companies and took some big ones and then took investment in R&D as a percentage of sales, you would find a difference. And do we really think a dollar invested in research and development would be better spent as the billion and first dollar in Texas Instruments' central research lab or the first dollar that Cypress invests in research and development? Where does the productivity come from?

Reason: Someone I talked to in Washington referred to you as "the guy who torpedoed U.S. Memories." Is that a fair characterization?

Rodgers: God, I hope so. U.S. Memories was a *preposterously* bad business deal. It was concocted by the guys who brought you Sematech. Now the original premise of Sematech was to make dynamic RAMs and compete against the Japanese. Government wouldn't let them do it. The government said rightly, "We're not going to subsidize a competitor who competes against other American companies."

So U.S. Memories was the adjunct, the dynamic RAM company. They made it ostensibly private. But it had the guy who did the site search for Sematech running it. And he negotiated deals—city and state subsidies. Ranging from a minimum of $46 million in San Jose, California, to a maximum of over $300 million in Massachusetts. He would claim that he wasn't subsidized—his lawyers had firmly planted the idea that "subsidized" equals "receiving direct federal government subsidy payments." Well, hell, that's interesting, but that's not what *subsidized* means to me.

So they get this guy, Sandy Kane, to run U.S. Memories, whose credentials were that he was a government relations director at IBM. This is the guy who's going to go beat the Japanese in manufacturing. He presents a business plan. Think about it as a venture investor: He has no fabs [chip fabrication plants], no customers, a product *maybe*, no credentials himself to run it, no other founders.

This guy wants $500 million in equity, plus whatever carried equity would go to the employees. Plus another $500 million in debt. So if you think about what venture capitalists want—they want to see a 10-to-1 to 20-to-1 return on their money in three to four years. Take the least stringent of those criteria, and this $500 million company needs to be worth $5 billion in four years. We drop half a billion dollars on Sandy Kane. Some bank, without any security at all, lends him another half a billion dollars. And our government relations director from IBM builds a $5 billion company in 4 years, doing more in 4 years than Intel has done in 20 years. Preposterous bullshit.

The argument is, "Well, we have other motivations to get people in." And there were. Say I run a big company. My stock's in the mud. It's been in the mud for three years. I'm getting raped by the Japanese because now they own a monopoly on DRAMs—which I walked off from voluntarily. Now, I could spend $50 million and get back in the DRAM business, with a high likelihood of failure, because I failed before. I've got $50 million in the bank. I could afford to spend it, but I can't afford to lose it.

So, how in the hell can I do this thing and not claim a loss? Simple, I'll give it to Sandy Kane and let him lose it for me. If you buy less than 20 percent of the stock of a corporation, you don't have to consolidate the losses. So, you buy 19 percent of U.S. Memories. Sandy Kane agrees to transfer you 19 percent of his product at his manufacturing cost plus 10 percent.

And one of two things happens: Sandy Kane is successful. He runs a zero profit company. I transfer my losses to him. I take his product and sell it. I've got the DRAM page back in my catalogue, and I'm home free. Or, Sandy Kane craters. In which case, some time three years from now, I write a letter to the shareholders and say, "Well, we made profit last quarter. We're going to make profit next quarter. This quarter we have an extraordinary writeoff, $50 million. Sandy Kane screwed up. Not my fault. Too bad. Nice try. We tried to help America. One-time event." Neatest little scam you've ever seen. That's U.S. Memories, in a nutshell.

Reason: You talked about the importance of buying your way back into the DRAM market. Do you think it's important for American companies to be major producers of DRAMs?

Rodgers: It would be nice if the big guys hadn't walked off

JOSE LUIS VILLEGAS

on it. Gordon Moore, the chairman of Intel, admitted that Intel deliberately walked out of the DRAM business to make more profit. Two years later they made a profit of $600 million in microprocessors. Which is where they squirreled their money instead of DRAMs.

Reason: So maybe it was a good decision.

Rodgers: Sure. And I think DRAMs are a crappy business. The reason they're a crappy business, is that it's the highest volume integrated circuit. So it attracts *governments,* not companies. Right after the Japanese have created a monopoly on it, the Koreans are going to destroy their monopoly, and the Indians or Chinese will follow. There will be no free competition. There will be subsidized losses.

Reason: Part of the party line you get from people like the Semiconductor Industry Association is that it's only if you make DRAMs that you can keep up with the progress in putting higher density—more and more memory—on a chip. If you lose the capacity to design and make new generations of DRAMs you lose everything. Is that accurate?

Rodgers: No, it's bullshit. DRAMs and fundamental technology are very well matched. But there are three other vehicles that are as good as DRAMs for driving technology. They are ROMs [read-only memory], EPROMs [erasable programmable read-only memory], and static RAMs [random-access memory]. Now, one of the best foundries in the entire world is the Sharp foundry in Japan. And the main vehicle for driving the Sharp foundry in Japan is the ROM, the read-only memory. Sharp makes most of the ROMs for Nintendo games, gigantic quantities.

The EPROM is also used by many Japanese companies as a technology driver. It's used by Advanced Micro Devices and by Intel. The EPROM is a single-transistor memory. That single transistor is very special—it stores charge and holds it when the power is turned off.

And the last one, our technology vehicle—at Cypress, Motorola, Integrated Device Technologies—is the static RAM, SRAM. SRAMs are four times more expensive per bit than DRAMs, and they're four times faster. Typical computer systems have a fraction of memory in SRAMs for quick access and then the bulk of the memory in DRAMs for cheap price. The SRAMs are a very good technology driver.

Reason: Charles Ferguson of MIT, among others, has criticized Silicon Valley in particular and U.S. industry in general for being too entrepreneurial. He refers to "chronic entrepreneurialism"—people constantly leaving their employers to start new companies. You disagree with him. Why?

Rodgers: Well, where do you draw the line? I mean where does chronic entrepreneurialism start? Right after Andy Grove gets done telling me about how Cypress weakens Intel, is he going to tell these stories about the immaculate conception of Intel? They ripped off Fairchild [Semiconductor Corp.], right? The old companies, the old boys, the reformed hookers, were very much more cavalier in their appropriation of technology from their founders than we are today. Ferguson talks about the weakening effect of losing people, but you know, Rod Canion, the president of Compaq—is he better off being a department manager at TI?

Reason: You've said that there's no quick fix for competitiveness problems.

Rodgers: That's right.

Reason: Is there a slow fix?

Rodgers: Sure. Work. We have a high work ethic here at Cypress. We run the company on the basis of revenue per employee. Managers who want to hire more people have to come in and demonstrate increased workload—growth—and

DRAMS are a crappy business. It attracts governments, not companies. After the Japanese create a monopoly, the Koreans will destroy it and the Indians or Chinese will follow.

The budget deficit has to stop. It's the root of all evil. The government has to shut down some of its spending. It just has to.

increased productivity—output per employee—and then they have to show that their workload increase, even with the increased productivity, still means that they have to grow the number of employees. And only then do they get to hire more people.

Reason: So at Cypress you're fighting this battle by working. But are there changes that need to take place, either at the governmental level, or educationally...

Rodgers: You're talking about the tide rises for all companies, as opposed to what a company can do to be competitive?

Reason: What needs to change outside the companies.

Rodgers: Sure, I can name a bunch of things. Education. The government is only good at throwing money at something and running away. The government cannot manage. So what can you throw money at that you can get some value for your money? And I claim that our universities are pretty efficient. You can send a $10 million check to Stanford and say, "We want this used for integrated circuit research and development. We'd like a proposal from you, before we validate this check, on how many more Ph.D.s or whatever you want turned out." You would see more chaired professors, more Ph.D.s, more courses, more stuff on integrated circuits, and the efficiency would be pretty high.

Two: The budget deficit has to stop. It is the root of all evil. I heard a great quote the other day: "We always hire Democratic congressmen who promise to give us from the government all the things we want. And we always hire Republican presidents to make sure we don't have to pay for it." It's a great quote. It's exactly right.

Reason: Is your proposed solution to the budget deficit to raise taxes?

Rodgers: No. They have to shut down some of their spending. They just have to do it. I think we have the opportunity of my lifetime with this reduction of tension with the Soviet Union if we can have the courage to use the peace dividend just to get rid of the budget deficit, not to go with porkbarrel projects.

The government borrowing hurts companies like mine and *all* technology companies for several reasons. Equity is expensive money. Debt's cheap money. If I have to sell 10 percent of my company to get some money, as opposed to just borrowing it and paying interest, I'm very much better off borrowing it. In Japan, I can borrow it for 6 percent. Here I can borrow it for 12, because I'm competing with Sam, the biggest borrower in the history of the universe.

Next thing is our government policy of the cheap dollar. Go to 1984. Represent Japan and America by a $1 billion Nippon Electric Corp. and a $1 billion Intel, respectively. We each had 50 percent market share. Five years later in '89, the yen is valued up by a factor of two. Intel's still $1 billion, assuming they didn't change in real size. Nippon Electric Corp.'s now a $2 billion company. Headline: "U.S. Market Share in Semiconductors Drops from 50 to 33 Percent. Sematech, U.S. Memories Needed to Save the Country."

The whole goddamned thing, you can explain with currency. It turns out if you use the 1989 exchange rate, we had a 28 percent market share in 1984 and we've been climbing from 28 percent to 35 percent since 1984. Our currency has been devalued partly because it needed to be devalued, but it's been pushed farther than the real equilibrium. When you cut Intel in half by cutting the value of the dollar in half, you cut its profit in half. Its PE at best stays constant, so you cut its share price in half. So you've removed our ability to access capital markets. We have to stop crunching our dollar to favor the rustbelt industries.

There's one more point, which falls under trade policy. Japanese story of getting into jet engines—Clyde Prestowitz told this story at a conference I was at. Here we own—we *own*—jet engines. You got Pratt-Whitney, you got what's the other one?

Reason: GE.

Rodgers: GE. Then you've got Rolls-Royce. But the Japanese don't know how to do it. Gigantic trade secret. So all of a sudden, you read an announcement that GE's going to make a 90,000-pound jet engine. Think about it. The SR-71 Blackbird—that's a Mach-3 airplane, fastest airplane that was ever made, flies at 105,000 feet—has two 30,000-pound engines in it. We're talking about a 90,000-pound engine. So you think it's an ultramilitary secret, nobody gets at it. Then you read the next day that the Japanese are going to have 15 percent of the manufactured content of that jet engine. And you go, "Do these guys have a brain tumor? They are letting the Japanese in on the most advanced jet engine in the world. What the hell is wrong?"

Well, Prestowitz explained how that happened. MITI says to Japan Airlines, "You will do what we want and here's what we want." Japan Airlines goes to Boeing and says, "You know us. We buy more 747s than anybody. We can buy 747s, we can buy Airbuses, and we're not sure right now. We want to make sure that whatever 747s we buy from you in the future have a little bit of Japanese content in the jet engines. Boeing, do you hear what we say?" Boeing goes to General Electric and says, "You know us. We're your biggest buyer of engines. Now we can buy them from you, we can buy them from Rolls-Royce..." And the Japanese are in. [Editor's note: Boeing says no Japanese company is involved with engine technology on any of its planes.]

JOSE LUIS VILLEGAS

Now you can argue that that's crooked. I can argue that that doesn't matter. But the point is, those guys play *hard* ball, on issues like that, and we don't. We need to say, "You ship us $10 billion of goods, well, we got this little problem. You don't have American content. And starting June 1991, we're going to have a small surcharge—200 percent of their value coming in—unless you have 20 percent American content. And it's not fair, and we're not intending to be fair. So that's it. That's the new rules." And we could start doing things to the Japanese, like they do to us. Which would raise the tide for an entire industry, are totally non-free market, in terms of the world. But with regard to the United States, help our industry.

Reason: And the consumer...

Rodgers: That's the one problem. The fact is that if we do things like that we hurt our own consumers. But I guess when I look at us losing it and think about the American consumer, my vision of the American consumer is a first grader who weighs 220 pounds and is sucking on a lollipop. I just don't mind putting the kid a little bit through boot camp. And I think if we judiciously do some things to protect strategic industries in this country and if they happen to have an impact on the consumer, I think that's a good exchange. If the Japanese take it all, the consumer will lose anyway.

Reason: Who gets to pick which industries are strategic?

Rodgers: There is a place where I trust a science advisory group to the president...

Reason: Sounds like Sematech to me. A bunch of experts get together, civilian scientists who do a lot of work for the Pentagon, and they say, "Well, you know, we've really got to help these guys."

Rodgers: It's not Sematech in the sense that it's not picking winners and losers within a sector. It is basically raising the tide for an entire sector. They've been doing it for years with supercomputers. So that one limited thing is what I would do. The purpose isn't to screw consumers. I'm not looking for policies—the good example is the one Dr. [Thomas Gale] Moore, at the Hoover Institution, gave on cars. We go jack up the price with a tariff on Japanese cars...

Reason: It would be better if it were a tariff. It's a quota.

Rodgers: A Honda goes from $20,000 to $23,000. The price of an Oldsmobile goes from $20,000 to $23,000. And the Oldsmobile now lives under an umbrella that prevents him from getting competitive. And the American consumer gets screwed by both Honda and Oldsmobile, as opposed to just Oldsmobile.

Reason: Isn't that what the agreement Clyde Prestowitz rigged up to restrict imports of Japanese memory chips did?

Rodgers: It's a disaster. I am not a supporter of that particular deal. The Japanese broke the law. We should have bashed them for it. But after they forced all our companies out—or our companies voluntarily exited a low-profit market, whichever way you want to look at it—we forced them to jack up their prices. We forced our American computer companies to pay billions of extra dollars to the culprits who screwed us to begin with. It was a disaster.

On the other hand, the Japanese changed their way of doing business. We pulled out our six-gun and shot six holes in our foot. But they went, "Holy shit. The gun actually came out of the holster. This is bad news." And there was an absolute, measurable change in the Japanese. Nippon Electric Corp. is making supercomputers. All the memory in the supercomputer will be American. We're getting that. It's like taking some medicine that almost kills you and kills the germs. It's real close as to whether it's worth it. With all the bad side effects, it did wake up the Japanese and did cause them to change the way they're doing business. We, Cypress, will benefit from that.

I don't mind doing things that are "unfair," things to a foreign country that I wouldn't tolerate between companies within the United States, or between the government and companies in the United States. But I don't have much meat on that yet. Because frankly for a long time I rejected all those arguments at face value. And most of the time, when you see the grand scheme that's going to make things better, it only takes you about five seconds to find out who's going to get screwed. I am sensitive to the fact that with every restriction we talk about you can see a clearcut feedback back into hurting somebody in the United States.

Reason: Often another producer fighting foreign competition.

Rodgers: Sure. And sometimes, as in the DRAM pricing thing, to give benefit to an industry which no longer exists.

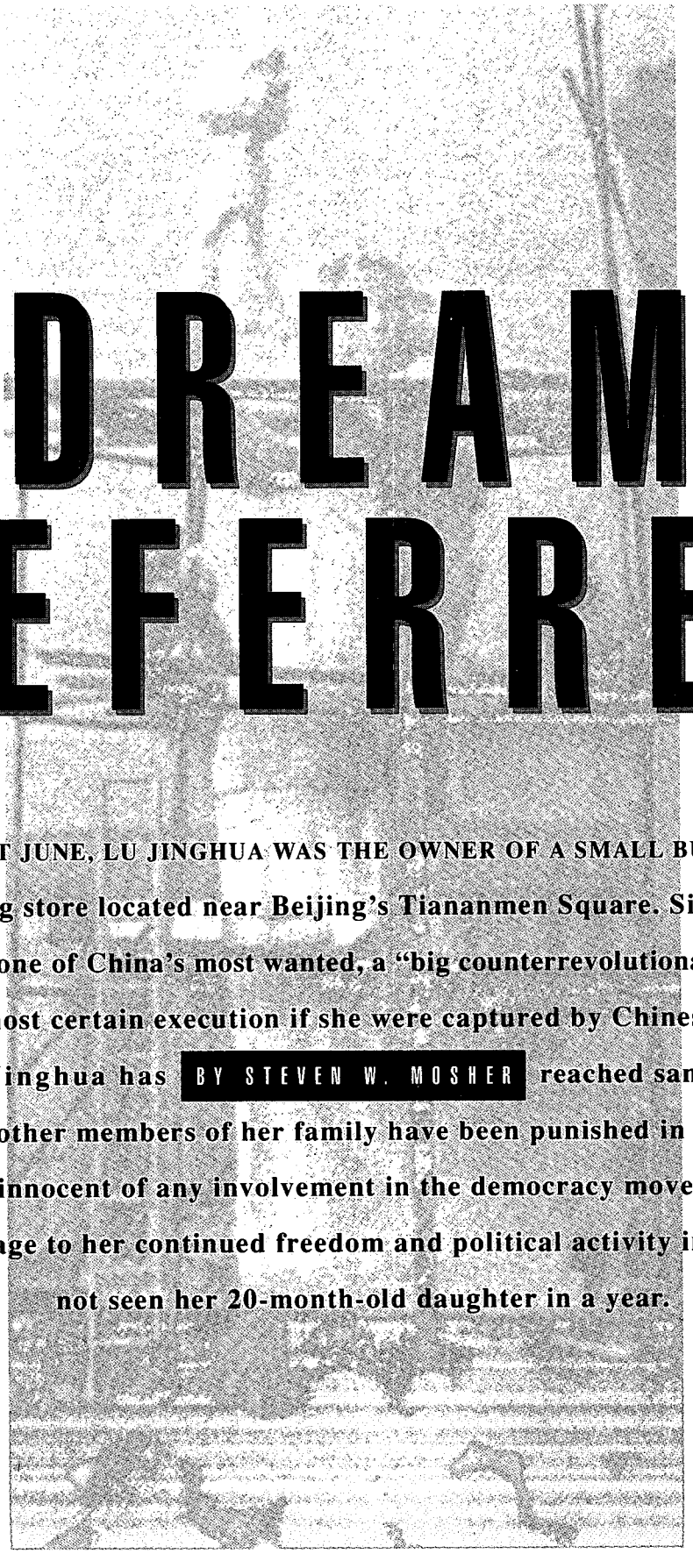
Reason: What do you see as the proper role of business and entrepreneurs in politics? You were very disparaging of the people who have the governmental relations offices in Washington.

Rodgers: I'll run a good company and pay taxes—and we pay a lot of taxes in this company. I guess we have to be available to testify and give our opinion, but I don't really see a need for lobbying groups. There are only two reasons for them: One is to get subsidies, and the other one is to prevent the government from sticking it to you some way, so it's defensive. Neither of those have any interest for me.

Reason: Are there particular people in public life that you admire?

Rodgers: I was very impressed with all the congressmen I met. They're very smart guys. It's a lot like when you start studying quality at your own company—you find out bad quality is your fault. Really and truly your fault. And most of your workers are pretty smart and try to do what the company tells them to do. When they screw up, it's mostly because they were given confusing and incomplete instructions. When I look at Washington, I think that the system is really more the problem. In other words the management is equivalent to the system; the players, the workers, really are pretty good people in general.

So do I have any heroes? My last hero in Washington is Ronald Reagan. I like Reagan because of his leadership, not because of his management. He's probably a pretty lousy manager. And he didn't work very hard. But he was a good leader. A great leader. And he brought enough respect back to the presidency to get two terms out of it. And that, that to me is an important accomplishment. ■



DREAM DEFERRED

UNTIL LAST JUNE, LU JINGHUA WAS THE OWNER OF A SMALL BUT THRIVING clothing store located near Beijing's Tiananmen Square. Since then, she has been one of China's most wanted, a "big counterrevolutionary" who would face almost certain execution if she were captured by Chinese security forces. Although Jinghua has reached sanctuary in the United States, other members of her family have been punished in her stead. Her husband, innocent of any involvement in the democracy movement, languishes in prison, a hostage to her continued freedom and political activity in the West. She has not seen her 20-month-old daughter in a year.

BY STEVEN W. MOSHER

Jinghua's experience, filled with personal tragedy and yet inspired by a vision of China's democratic future, is typical of many leaders in China's democracy movement. Like the movement itself, it gives cause for both hope and despair.

To all appearances, the democracy movement inside China has been crushed. Tens of thousands have disappeared into the Chinese gulag without a trace. And the symbolic leader of the democracy movement, Fang Lizhi, remains a virtual prisoner in the U.S. Embassy in Beijing.

Outside of China, however, the transplanted movement has taken root and is growing in strength. Overseas Chinese, traditionally divided by parochial considerations of province and dialect, have come together in their horror over the massacre in Beijing and their antipathy to the old tyrants who ordered it. Literally thousands of prodemocracy organizations have been formed, the more important ones headed by those who have escaped by underground railroad from China. Not since the closing years of the Manchu dynasty, which was overthrown in 1911, have the Chinese people been so united in their opposition to a government.

JINGHUA IS AN ORDINARY-looking woman of extraordinary ambition and energy. Until 1982 she was a worker in a state textile factory, paid perhaps $25 a month, with little prospect of ever earning much more. "When Deng Xiaoping told us that it was all right to get rich, I took him at his word," Jinghua recalls.

Jinghua opened a small shop near Tiananmen Square, selling blue jeans and other popular Western apparel. She bought only the best cloth and paid village women generous piece rates to carefully sew the latest fashions. By the spring of 1989, Jinghua's shop employed well over 100 people.

When the young people of Beijing began demonstrating against one-party dictatorship, a stifling bureaucracy, and government corruption, Jinghua was immediately sympathetic to their cause. She knew the problem first-hand. Greedy officials on the take had cost her dearly. They had once shut off the electricity to her shop—even though she had paid her power bill—when she balked at paying a bribe.

Jinghua was generous with the students who came to her shop asking for gifts of food and money for the demonstrators. Soon she herself was going daily to Tiananmen Square—staying for hours at a time to read the bulletin boards and listen to the students' speeches. "The students and the intellectuals who supported them loved to talk," Jinghua remembers. "But they talked right over the heads of the people. They lacked experience with the practical problems that ordinary people face." So Jinghua, drawing upon her own experiences, began speaking to the workers and small-business owners.

On May 19, Jinghua joined with a dozen other activists and established the Beijing Workers' Autonomous Union, the first of its kind in the country. With her gift of gab, Jinghua became the union's spokeswoman. Her voice, swelling with sarcasm whenever it touched upon the mistakes and follies of Communist officials, attracted huge crowds.

But after tanks rolled into Tiananmen Square on June 3, the democracy movement's leaders were forced to flee for their lives. Like many others, Jinghua went south. After weeks of traveling, often with the assistance of sympathizers she knew only by nicknames, she reached the city of Canton. There an underground railroad had been set up by friends of the democracy movement, and she was able to slip across the border to safety in Hong Kong. In December, five months after she applied for political asylum at the U.S. consulate in Hong Kong, she arrived in Los Angeles.

MANY OTHERS WERE not so fortunate. Even before the city of Beijing was pacified by arms, the regime was issuing lists of "counterrevolutionaries" to be arrested and shot.

At first, these executions were widely publicized within China, but international criticism soon shamed the government into secrecy. The new policy was contained in a top-secret Chinese government directive, known as "Document No. 3," promulgated two weeks after the massacre. According to this directive, all "counterrevolutionaries" would still be executed, but the "number of executed and imprisoned people is not to be published" beyond a certain minimum number of executions that should receive publicity "in order to make examples."

Amnesty International is among the many human rights organizations that have protested this calculated use of terror to silence dissent. In September 1989, it sent a telex to Premier Li Peng calling for an end to secret executions. It dismissed the official death toll of several dozen people as a gross underestimate of the number of those who had actually been executed in the months since the Tiananmen massacre. One year later, secret executions continue. Hundreds, if not thousands, have been shot.

Many times that number of students, workers, labor-union activists, small-business owners, and officials have been arrested. It is difficult to know the exact number, but it is surely in the tens of thousands. The democracy leaders in exile say it is even larger. On July 20, 1989, dissident leaders Wuer Kaixi,

Yan Jiaqi, Wan Runnan, Su Shaozhi, and Liu Bin Yan jointly asserted that in just the first five weeks after the massacre more than 120,000 democracy supporters had been arrested throughout China. They based their estimates on information given to them by "a Beijing official sympathetic to the Democracy Movement" who was privy to internal party documents on the purge.

"Document No. 4," the next in the series of top-secret government directives dealing with the democracy movement, listed 10 categories of people who are to be "resolutely attacked": those who planned and led the demonstrations; top leaders of dissident organizations (such as Jinghua's Beijing Workers' Autonomous Union); those who led the masses in blocking advancing troops; those who protected "counterrevolutionary elements" after the massacre; those who took weapons from soldiers; those who attacked the soldiers, and so on. Anyone suspected of such activities is routinely arrested.

There is an 11th category as well, never explicitly stated but critical to Beijing efforts to terrorize the overseas democracy movement into silence: those who are closely related to the dissident leaders who have fled the country. Jinghua's husband was in Guangdong province throughout the demonstrations, and he continuously warned his wife in letters of the dangers of participating in the union's activities. He was arrested immediately after Jinghua came to the United States. No one, not even his elderly parents, has been informed of his whereabouts or told the nature of the crime of which he is accused. Many of the young men and women seen on America's television screens last spring have similarly disappeared without a trace into Chinese labor camps.

One indication that the Chinese gulag is bursting at the seams is Beijing's recent effort to offer prisoners as cheap labor to Western firms willing to open factories in China. According to the *Hong Kong Standard*, a representative of the Beijing regime formally offered "criminals" to Volvo for use on the shop floor if they moved into China, a deal the Swedish car manufacturer rejected as "revolting."

THE SYSTEM OF POLICE-STATE CONTROLS THAT HAS been reimposed upon China in the aftermath of Tiananmen is reminiscent of that in place during the Cultural Revolution. Armed guards have been posted at the country's fax machines to monitor incoming messages. Border patrols have been beefed up, and severe restrictions have been placed on foreign reporters. The old Maoist campaign to emulate Lei Feng, a long-dead corporal in the People's Liberation Army whose sole desire in life was to be "a worthy screw in the Communist machine," has been cranked up again.

The student population, especially, is under close surveillance. The entire first-year class of Beijing University has spent the last year at a remote camp undergoing ideological indoctrination. Even at universities unaffected by the demonstrations, political study is now required. As during Mao's days, political reliability, rather than academic ability, is now the primary requirement for university matriculation.

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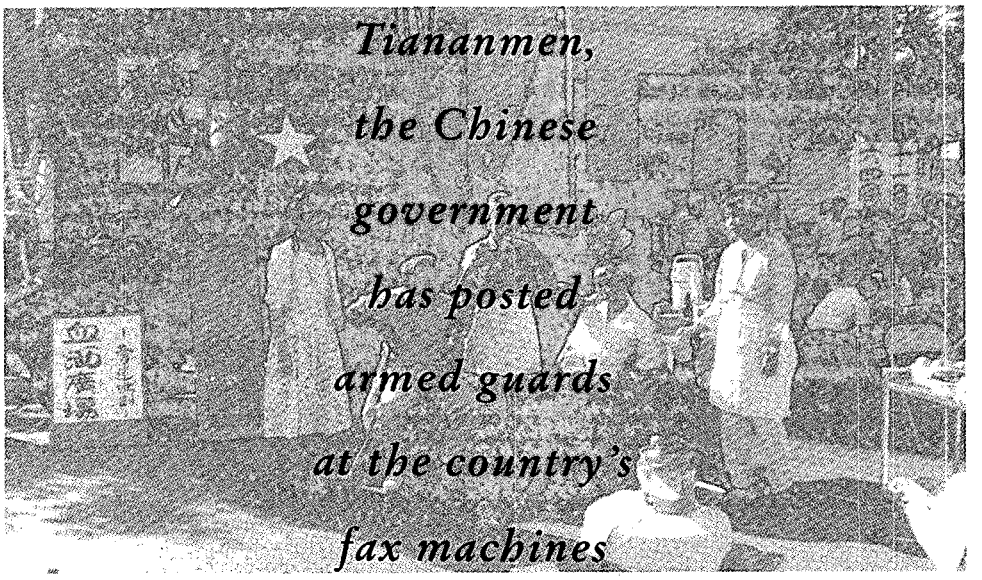


Supporters of the democracy movement outside the Chinese Consulate in Los Angeles.

The controls in China are by no means absolute—the escape of several dozen democratic activists from China is proof of that—but they are effective enough. The democracy movement, to all appearances, has been crushed in China.

A recent effort to mobilize the Beijing population "to take a walk on Tiananmen" fell flat. The occasion was the Ching Ming festival on April 5, when the Chinese traditionally honor the dead. The authorities aborted the demonstration by declaring Tiananmen off-limits to strollers for the five days of the festival and posting thousands of armed guards and plainclothes policemen to enforce its edict.

Still, the people continue to find ways to express their outrage. Since the Tiananmen massacre, thousands of Chinese have left bits of broken bottle glass in public places. Xiaoping, as in Deng Xiaoping, means "little bottle." Ten years ago, when Deng came to power, hopeful Chinese hung little bottles in their windows. Today, the people break bottles to symbolize their shattered dreams.

PHOTOGRAPHS COURTESY OF MOON CHEN

IF THE CHINESE DEMOCRACY MOVEMENT HAS BEEN all but eliminated at home, it continues to thrive in other countries. From the first days of the Tiananmen demonstrations, Chinese students studying abroad actively supported the movement. One of the earliest and most important organizations was the China Information Center, founded by students in the Boston area in late April 1989.

Dedicated to the proposition that the open flow of information is the defining characteristic of a free society, it rapidly became the communications hub for Chinese students throughout North America who wished to lend their support to their fellow students in Beijing. The center had a direct "hot line" to Tiananmen Square, manned 24 hours a day by activists, which it used to pass along encouraging messages to the demonstrators, as well as receive constant reports and updates on events in and around the square as they transpired.

After the massacre, the center's mission changed. With the Western media first silenced and then sent home by the Chinese government, the center became one of the few reliable sources of up-to-date information on China for the West. At the same time, it worked to communicate the truth to people in China who were being informed by the government-controlled media that no one had died in Tiananmen Square. By fax and telephone, center activists fought against what they called "The Big Lie," sending news reports and photographs to Chinese citizens.

The organization now works with Amnesty International and Asia Watch to maintain a human rights archive, in which information regarding arrests and executions is stored. The Chinese Information Center remains the center of the communications network that links together the 60,000 Chinese students in the United States and other countries who are unable to return to their homeland for fear of persecution.

While Chinese living overseas were sympathetic to the students' cause from the beginning, it was the Tiananmen massacre that galvanized them into an active resistance movement. Wuer Kaixi, one of the best-known student leaders, estimates that more than 8,000 different groups were formed in the summer of 1989, so great was the sense of outrage at the events in China.

And, despite decades of misunderstanding and a lack of close ties, Chinese on both sides of the Taiwan Straits have begun to work together to bring democracy to the mainland. The continuing repression on the mainland, and the progressive democratization of the Republic of China on Taiwan, have brought many democratic activists to Taiwan. The heads of the major democracy organizations, such as Wan Runnan, general secretary of the Federation for a Democratic China, Hu Ping, chairman of the Alliance for Democracy in China, and Li San-yuan, head of the Voice of June 4th, have all visited Taiwan in recent months. The coming together of the new organizations based in the West and the older political forces in Taiwan and on Hong Kong has created a formidable united front against the Communist regime.

Bejing has offered prisoners as cheap labor to Western firms willing to open factories in China.

University of Nevada professor Maria Chang addresses a conference for Chinese activists.

WAN RUNNAN SEEMS AN UNlikely candidate to be the head of a counterrevolutionary organization. But his Federation for a Democratic China is one of the two largest dissident organizations. Starting with a small electronics shop 10 years ago, he had built his Stone Corp. into China's premier computer manufacturer and its largest privately owned corporation. Because of his success at the game of capitalism and his outspoken support for democracy, he was a natural target for the old hardliners who want to reimpose central control on China. His name was high on Beijing's most-wanted list, and he had to flee the country. We spoke on board a 747 bound for Paris, where the headquarters of the federation are located.

Paris, he notes, wasn't the federation's first choice. But, he says, "the Bush administration made it clear in various ways that they didn't want us in Washington or New York. Some of our people found it difficult to get visas to the United States. The French government has a tradition of supporting human rights movements. They welcomed us."

Wan remains optimistic about the chances for democracy in China. "We expect changes when Deng Xiaoping dies in a year or two," he says. "Before we can go back and work for democracy four things must happen. Li Peng, who along with Deng ordered the massacre, must step down. The false verdict that June 4 was a counterrevolutionary coup attempt must be reversed. The government must declare that we are not counterrevolutionaries. And there must be an end to one-party dictatorship. Until these four things happen, we will work outside of China to build up our organization."

But the former businessman realizes that democracy alone

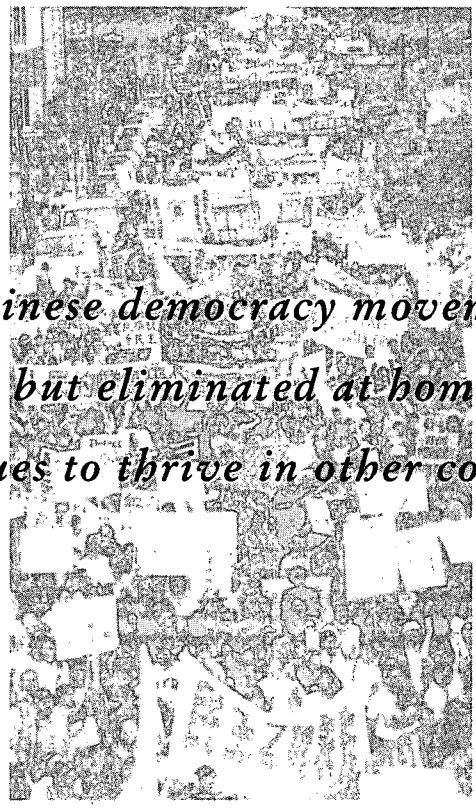
will not be enough to free China. "Property must be held privately," he says. "The land must be given back to the villagers. Factories must be turned over to the workers. The transformation must take place in stages. First we will privatize the coastal zones, then the backward interior. Only the communication, transportation, and energy sectors will remain in government hands."

HU PING, THE HEAD OF THE OTHER MAJOR DEMOcracy organization, the Alliance for Democracy in China, is Wan's opposite. He is the prototypical Chinese intellectual, the kind who can get lost in thought in the middle of a conversation.

Hu holds the distinction of being the first democratically elected public official in the People's Republic of China. In 1979, the government enacted an election law that theoretically allowed campaigning for candidates and the direct election of "people's deputies" at the county level. Unlike local party authorities elsewhere, school authorities at Beijing University permitted a genuine democratic election. Hu Ping, then a graduate student in philosophy, decided to run. Largely on the strength of an essay entitled "On Freedom of Speech," he defeated the Communist Party's candidate and won.

As punishment for his success, the party refused to assign him work upon graduation. When he applied to various organizations for employment, he was rejected as "too dangerous." Only after his term as a "people's deputy" ended three years later was he able to join the Chinese Academy of Social Sciences. In 1985 he came to the United States to do graduate work at Harvard and in 1987 he became chairman of the Alliance for Democracy. As punishment for joining a "counterrevolutionary" organization, Hu had his passport revoked.

The alliance is best known as the publisher of the magazine *China Spring*. More recently, it has conducted a series of "Conferences in Democracy" with the Claremont Institute. Held in major cities throughout the United States, these conferences bring together leaders and activists in the democracy movement for three days of discussions of democratic fundamentals. Those who come from China have little understanding of such principles as the separation of powers, the rule of law, and individual rights. These conferences provide activists with a framework for their efforts to bring liberal government to China.



The Chinese democracy movement has been all but eliminated at home, but it continues to thrive in other countries.

Demonstrators pour into the streets of San Francisco to protest the massacre.

PERHAPS THE MOST DARING INITIATIVE OF THE democracy movement, and one in which all the major organizations have been cooperating, has been the outfitting of a radio ship, the *Goddess of Democracy*, to broadcast into China from international waters. The ship was christened on March 9 by film star Yves Montand and Wuer Kaixi. Manned by Chinese dissidents, it sailed to China and began its uncensored broadcasts on April 30. Its broadcasts have included detailed accounts of the occupation of Tiananmen Square, the hunger strike that led to the imposition of martial law, the massacre, and the postmassacre purge. A more direct challenge to the Beijing regime is hard to imagine, and the Chinese government has threatened to use force against the ship.

While the leaders of the democracy movement may have their differences, they all agree that the Tiananmen massacre was a defeat for the forces of Communist reaction, not a victory. Similarly, the continuing crackdown in China is the desperate cruelty of an aging oligarchy—a sign of weakness, not of strength. They point to the fact that China's hardline stance has relegated it to the dwindling ranks of orthodox Marxist states, a kind of international Gang of Five that includes Castro's Cuba, Kim Il Sung's North Korea, Albania, and Vietnam.

Many in the Chinese democracy movement believe, with some justification, that the blood that flowed in Beijing had a sobering effect on the reactionary regimes of Eastern Europe and that the fully perceived dimensions of its horror may have prevented other massacres. For them the crumbling of the Berlin Wall, the peaceful ousting of entrenched leaders in East Germany, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, and Hungary, and the violent overthrow of the Ceausescu regime in Romania all began with the Beijing demonstrations of 1989. Part myth and part reality, this belief encourages the democracy movement in its struggle for human rights and representative government.

What is certain is that the future of China lies with her youth, not with the current corrupt and entrenched elite. Eastern Europe is a testament to how fast the totalitarian glue that holds systems like China together can be dissolved with the proper solvent. ■

Contributing Editor Steven W. Mosher is director of Asian studies at the Claremont Institute. His latest book, China Misperceived: From American Illusions to Chinese Reality, *will be published in September by Harper and Row.*

OCEANFRONT BATTLEGROUND

BY RICK HENDERSON

Elected officials in Santa Monica, California, make a point of being Politically Correct. At the weekly meetings of the city's rent control board, three of the five members refuse to recite the Pledge of Allegiance; instead, they observe a moment of silence as a protest against U.S. policy in El Salvador. During the March 29 meeting, a member of the American Civil Liberties Union gave a 15-minute presentation opposing capital punishment. The board later issued a proclamation asking Gov. George Deukmejian to grant clemency to murderer Robert Alton Harris.

The board may soon find that it has little more influence over rents in Santa Monica than it does over U.S. foreign policy or the criminal justice system. Eleven years after successfully backing some of the strictest rent laws in the nation, the Santa Monica rent-control coalition faces a fight for its life. Frustrated landlords threaten to take as many as 20 percent of the city's rental units off the market within three years. And the next court challenge to Santa Monica's rent control charter might invalidate it.

These challenges to rent control reflect a nationwide trend. Syndicated columnist Neal R. Pierce, writing in *National Journal*, reports that rent control may be illegal in as many as 45 states by year's end. An early draft of the U.S. Senate's omnibus housing bill (sponsored by California Democrat Alan Cranston) would have withheld federal housing funds from rent-controlled cities unless the cities could prove that their laws don't harm the housing market.

Santa Monica's rent control law, passed in 1979, differs from most around the country because it doesn't even allow landlords to increase rents when a tenant moves out. (By contrast, the rent control laws in surrounding Los Angeles County do permit such "vacancy decontrol.")

Threats to close Sea Castle Apartments drove a wedge into the rent-control coalition.

Santa Monica's law limits annual rent increases to two-thirds of the Consumer Price Index, in a market where housing and land prices are going up far faster than the CPI. And, when enacted, it rolled back rents by 10 percent. As a result, rents are far below market value: 25 percent lower, estimated a 1987 study by the Los Angeles Planning Group, a consulting firm.

Until 1986, Santa Monica also made it nearly impossible for anyone to get out of the rental business. That year, however, the state legislature gave landlords a legal escape hatch with the Ellis Act. The act lets property owners go out of business if they convert apartments into condominiums, tear down the apartments and build single-family dwellings, or use the property for noncommercial purposes.

Since Ellis became law, nearly 1,000 of the city's 33,000 rent-controlled apartments have disappeared from the marketplace.

One event in late January signaled a crisis for rent-control advocates: the "Elising" of the oceanfront Sea Castle Apartments. Sea Castle's owner threatened to use the Ellis Act to close the 278-unit structure and evict its 400 tenants. Residents panicked; Mayor Dennis Zane and rent board chairwoman Susan Packer Davis vowed to pressure the legislature into altering or repealing the Ellis Act.

But a new phenomenon emerged from the Sea Castle announcement. The once-solid bonds among "tenants' rights" activists began to dissolve.

About 80 percent of the city's 96,000 residents are renters. A three-pronged coalition originally pushed Santa Monica into its strict rent-control position: left-liberals, led by Tom Hayden's Campaign for Economic Democracy; longtime residents who objected to property developers and to the multifamily housing that had replaced beachfront cottages; and tenants concerned about the annual double-digit increases in their rents. This mixture of ideology and pragmatism held together for nearly a dozen years.

The Sea Castle crisis widened an existing rift between leftist ideologues and Santa Monicans for Renters' Rights, the powerful 5,000-member tenant group that once hand-picked the city's elected officials. In the past, SMRR consistently opposed property owners; now the group tosses aside ideology when it conflicts with the self-interest of members.

SMRR is trying to cut a deal that protects rent control for current tenants while keeping apartments on the market. Recent proposals include partial vacancy decontrol, permission for property owners to pass maintenance and renovation costs along to tenants, and the optional use of binding arbitration to settle landlord/tenant disputes.

Some rent board actions have antagonized tenants. Last fall, a plan devised by rent commissioner Wayne

A. REIBSAMEN

Bauer offered landlords the opportunity to increase rent on two-thirds of their vacant units if they set aside the other third for low-income tenants. A NIMBY (Not In My Back Yard) effect set in: Tenants opposed both the rent hikes and the prospect of sharing their buildings with welfare families. Landlords didn't flock to the plan because they wanted to negotiate a better deal.

SMRR's recent manuevers have sent local politicos scrambling. Rent commissioners Davis, Bauer, and Eileen Lipson will not seek reelection this fall. Bauer says SMRR is dominated by "yuppies" who don't care about low-income tenants; he threatens to campaign against its slate of candidates in November. Davis blames SMRR for making a series of "bad compromises," and refuses to "preside over a dying system." But Mayor Zane, a founder of SMRR, cautions that tenants "must be willing to consider things [they] would have rejected five years ago."

Attorney Carl Lambert, a property owner and spokesperson for the landlord group Action, says this deal cutting is "too little, too late." Action plans to place a vacancy-decontrol initiative on the November ballot. Without full decontrol, Lambert contends, landlords will pull between 5,000 and 10,000 of the city's rent-controlled apartments from the market within two years. Even with new commissioners, Action believes that the rent board will try to consolidate its power; under partial decontrol, the board would continue to regulate rent increases. Lambert hopes tenants and property owners will unite to throw out the most draconian aspects of rent control.

A final specter haunts Santa Monica's rent control: legal challenges. In 1986, the U.S. Supreme Court upheld the rent control charter as a legitimate exercise of the city's "police power." But recent court decisions, especially *Nollan* v. *California Coastal Commission* (U.S. Supreme Court, 1987) and *Seawall Associates* v. *City of New York* (New York Court of Appeals, 1989), may serve as precedents for challenging the charter as an unjustified taking of private property for public use. The city has avoided major court cases since *Seawall*, and the rent board relies heavily on its legal staff to prevent any changes in regulations that may inspire lawsuits. At the March 29 meeting, Chairwoman Davis repeatedly said, "We want to stay out of court."

Both landlords and tenants believe that rent control will soon wear a different face. The Rent Control Board will have a new majority while tenants confront a rapidly shrinking rental market. "Santa Monica may continue to have the strictest rent control laws in the country," attorney Lambert concludes, "but both tenants won't be too happy about it."

Rick Henderson is researcher/reporter for REASON.

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THE NEW THALIDOMIDE

BY STANTON PEELE

A growing number of pregnant women in the United States avoid alcohol as if it were thalidomide. The pronouncements of government officials, journalists, and other professional alarmists have convinced them that drinking any amount of alcohol during pregnancy endangers the fetus. This new conventional wisdom is embodied in the federal warning that now appears on every bottle of wine, beer, and liquor manufactured for sale in this country: "According to the Surgeon General, women should not drink alcoholic beverages during pregnancy because of the risk of birth defects."

The horrible effects of fetal alcohol syndrome—which include mental retardation, cardiac defects, and facial deformities—were publicized throughout the 1980s. More recently, *The Broken Cord*, Michael Dorris's account of his experiences in raising an adopted Native American child suffering from FAS, has renewed the storm of anxiety about alcohol consumption during pregnancy. Dorris's book warns people that the danger of drinking by pregnant women has been vastly underestimated. The news media have been eager to amplify that view.

The success of the campaign against drinking during pregnancy demonstrates that any attacks on alcohol, no matter how far-fetched, misleading, or counterproductive, are nowadays immune from criticism. By blurring important distinctions, reports on FAS have generated needless worry among occasional or moderate drinkers while distracting attention from the real problems of prenatal care.

People have long recognized that heavy alcohol consumption is a risky behavior for pregnant women. But U.S. researchers first used the term *fetal alcohol syndrome* in the early 1970s to describe severe abnormalities in the newborn children of alcoholic mothers, including brain damage and readily observable physical deformities.

Such children are quite rare, however, even among heavy drinkers. In their 1984 book *Alcohol and the Fetus*, based on a comprehensive survey of the research, Dr. Henry Rosett and Lyn Weiner of Boston University reported that studies find FAS occurs in only 2 percent to 10 percent of children born to alcohol abusers. Furthermore, they reported that in every one of the 400 FAS cases described in the scientific literature, the mother "was a chronic alcoholic who drank heavily during pregnancy."

The infrequency of FAS has prompted researchers to expand their focus beyond the severe birth defects sometimes caused by heavy drinking. Hence "fetal alcohol effect," which refers to more-subtle impairment that might ordinarily escape attention. Closely tied to the rather vague notion of fetal alcohol effect is the suggestion that light or moderate drinking might also be dangerous. Warnings about FAS, fetal alcohol effect, and the alleged risks of any drinking during pregnancy get tossed together in the news media.

A February article by Dr. Elisabeth Rosenthal in *The New York Times Magazine*, "When a Pregnant Woman Drinks," begins with a horrific tale of an FAS victim. In this case, not only did the 8-year-old girl have FAS, but so did her siblings and her mother. Immediately following this extreme example, the article describes how Dr. Claire Coles, an FAS expert, has begun to "see the survivors of drinking pregnancies everywhere." For example, upon visiting a reform school Coles observed, "My God, half these kids look alcohol affected."

The bait-and-switch juxtaposition of Coles's observation with the severe FAS case creates the false impression that such alcohol-related birth defects are common. *Alcohol affected*, the term used by Coles, is generally applied to infants who have problems that fall short of FAS, such as irritability, attention deficits, hyperactivity, or developmental delays. The condition cannot be discerned simply by looking at a child. But for those who see fetal alcohol effect "everywhere," even criminal behavior may be the result of a mother's drinking. (Attorneys representing condemned California murderer Robert Alton Harris offered such an argument.)

Increasingly, problems such as delinquency and learning disabilities are being attributed to maternal drinking. Combined with warnings about moderate alcohol consumption, this tendency is likely to cause irrational guilt among many parents. The mother of a child who gets into trouble or has difficulty in school will start to wonder if this has anything to do with the wine she occasionally drank during her pregnancy.

Weiner, co-author of *Alcohol and the Fetus*, has described the anxiety caused by exaggeration of the danger from drink-

SCOTT WEBER

ing during pregnancy: "Women are worrying about wine vinegar in their salad dressing and getting hysterical about the risk of eating rum cake, and they think they need an abortion after they hear the scare stories."

What grounds, if any, are there for such alarm? Rosenthal's article is accompanied by a subhead that warns, "New Studies Show that Even Moderate Consumption Can Be Harmful to the Unborn Child." But the article cites only *one* study to support this claim: In 1988, a University of Pittsburgh researcher found "minor anomalies" in children of mothers who consumed less than one drink a day during pregnancy.

Rosenthal has latched onto one highly unusual finding in a sea of contradictory evidence, ignoring a host of studies that have found no effect from consumption of two drinks a day or less. In 1984 Rosett and Weiner concluded that "the recommendation that all women should abstain from drinking during pregnancy is not based on scientific evidence." The overwhelming majority of studies since then have also failed to find evidence that moderate drinking harms the fetus. In fact, Dr. Jack Mendelson, a distinguished alcohol researcher at Harvard Medical School, has declared, "It is possible that some doses of alcohol, low or moderate, may improve the probability for healthy pregnancies and healthy offspring."

Given the rush to condemn any drinking during pregnancy despite the dearth of research evidence to support such a policy, you might guess that fetal alcohol effect, if not FAS itself, is a widespread phenomenon. But the Centers for Disease Control estimate that 8,000 "alcohol-damaged babies" are born each year, which works out to a rate of 2.7 for every 1,000 live births (0.27 percent).

Yet *New York Times* health columnist Jane Brody offered a much higher figure in 1986, when she announced, "An estimated 50,000 babies born last year suffered from prenatal alcohol exposure." (Brody, by the way, does not think it's enough merely to abstain from alcohol during pregnancy: "Even drinking *before* pregnancy [as little as one drink a day] may have an untoward result," she reported.)

Rosenthal does not offer her own estimate, but she says the CDC figure seems low, apparently because "on some Indian reservations, 25 percent of all children are reportedly afflicted." But as she later notes, "The CDC data show that the syndrome is 30 times more commonly reported in Native Americans than it is in whites, and six times more common in blacks." These figures indicate that alcohol-related damage among babies of white, middle-class women is actually less common than 2.7 cases per 1,000, since all groups are averaged together in producing the overall rate.

All the hype about the risks of any drinking during pregnancy is making women panic after discovering that they've eaten rum cake.

Indeed, it's not clear what the middle-class women who read the *Times* can learn from the experience of grossly dysfunctional families such as the one described at the beginning of Rosenthal's article or from reports about Native American children such as the mentally retarded boy in *The Broken Cord*. For one thing, styles of drinking vary widely across racial and socioeconomic groups.

White, middle-class women are more likely to drink than black women (and low-income women generally), but they tend to drink moderately. Black women are more likely to abstain, but those who don't are more likely to drink heavily. The fact that FAS rates are much higher among low-income minorities therefore contradicts the hypothesis that moderate drinking during pregnancy is damaging and that higher rates of abstinence would reduce FAS.

And a 1982 study by Boston University researcher Ralph Hingson suggests that other factors in the lives of poor, ghetto-dwelling women contribute to birth defects that have been ascribed solely to alcohol. After studying a sample of 1,700 women in Boston City Hospital, Hingson concluded that "neither level of drinking prior to pregnancy nor during pregnancy was significantly related to infant growth measures, congenital abnormality, or [other] features compatible with fetal alcohol syndrome."

Rather, a combination of factors—including smoking, malnutrition, and poor health care—seems to be responsible for low birth weight and other problems often attributed to drinking. "The results underline the difficulty in isolating and proclaiming single factors as the cause of abnormal fetal development," Hingson and his colleagues wrote.

So the crusade against drinking during pregnancy is misdirected in several ways. It focuses on moderate rather than heavy drinking, on middle-class rather than low-income mothers, and on alcohol consumption rather than the set of behaviors that increases the risk of birth defects. The women most likely to give birth to damaged babies—the ones who abuse alcohol and drugs, smoke, and neglect their health—are not affected by messages tailored to the middle class.

The error in strategy is especially troubling given the nation's relatively poor performance in prenatal care. The number of birth defects in the United States has doubled in the last 25 years. While the U.S. neonatal death rate dropped in the 1980s, it still compares unfavorably with those of European nations, Japan, Australia, Singapore, Bermuda, and even Guam. Shrill warnings about low levels of drinking during pregnancy may make health experts feel virtuous, but they won't improve those figures one bit. Developing comprehensive community programs for high-risk mothers would help, but this requires more than Sunday-supplement alarmism.

Stanton Peele is a psychologist and health researcher at Mathematica Policy Research in Princeton. He is the author of Diseasing of America: Addiction Treatment Out of Control.

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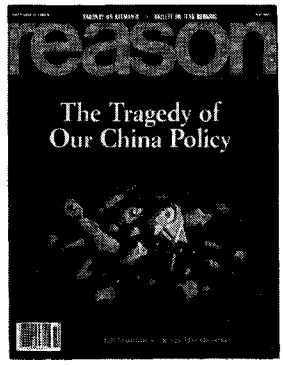

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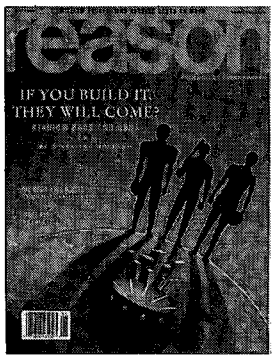

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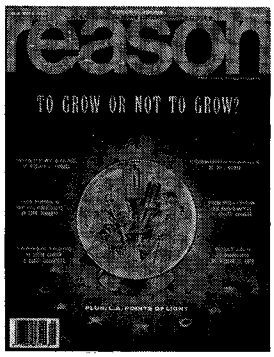

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SEX, DRUGS, AND RELIGION

BY JACOB SULLUM

If you tried to argue that you should be exempt from the legal ban on marijuana because you *really, really* like to get high, you'd be laughed out of court. But if you said you should be allowed to smoke pot because your religion requires it, you'd be guaranteed a more respectful hearing. You might even win.

That was the case, at least, until April 17, when the U.S. Supreme Court ruled that the First Amendment's Free Exercise Clause does not exempt the religious use of peyote from state drug laws. "To make an individual's obligation to obey such a law contingent upon the law's coincidence with his religious beliefs, except where the State's interest is 'compelling'...contradicts both constitutional tradition and common sense," Justice Antonin Scalia wrote for the majority in *Employment Division* v. *Smith*. "Any society adopting such a decision would be courting anarchy."

Should the Native American Church's peyote ceremony be protected by the First Amendment?

Scalia did not merely assert that the government may restrict certain religious practices, a point that has been long established. He further concluded that such restrictions violate the Free Exercise Clause only when they are specifically aimed at religion and not when they are incidental to a general prohibition.

The Court's ruling was bad news for Will and Mary Ellen Tracy, who were trying to use the Free Exercise Clause to challenge California's prostitution laws. The Tracys were arrested in April 1989, after Los Angeles detective Alan Vanderpool tried to join their Church of the Most High Goddess.

Vanderpool called Mary Ellen Tracy, high priestess of the church, to express interest in becoming a member. Tracy met with the potential convert later that month to instruct him in the doctrines of the church, which practices a form of hedonism purportedly based on an ancient Egyptian religion.

After his lesson, Vanderpool claimed to accept the teachings and proceeded to confess his sins. But when Tracy informed him that the next ritual, "dedication," required him to perform cunnilingus on her, he balked. In fact, he and his fellow officers arrested her for prostitution. (Vanderpool and Tracy had discussed a donation to the church.) They also hauled in her husband, Will, who was accused of running a "house of ill repute."

Found guilty last fall and threatened with further charges, the Tracys sought an injunction in federal district court to prevent Los Angeles authorities from investigating or prosecuting them. On May 3, U.S. District Judge William M. Byrne, Jr., denied the injunction, finding that the Church of the Most High Goddess, where Mary Ellen Tracy has engaged in sexual intercourse with thousands of men, is merely a disguise for a brothel. Citing the Supreme Court's ruling in *Smith*, Byrne added that even if he found the Tracys to be sincere in their beliefs, their religion could not excuse their activities. The Tracys promise to appeal.

Like *Smith*, their case raises an issue that the nation's courts have addressed repeatedly since the late 19th century: Can religious belief render otherwise illegal behavior permissible? The traditional approach, which Scalia rejected, has been to strictly scrutinize a law that burdens religion to ascertain whether it serves a "compelling government interest" that could not be satisfied through less restrictive means. Usually, the government prevails. But in some cases the Free Exercise Clause has been understood to require an exemption.

Although it ostensibly expands freedom, such a result is troubling: If something is properly forbidden by the state, why should the religious beliefs of those who do it absolve them? Certainly no one would suggest that the First Amendment would require the government to allow slavery or human sacrifice if these practices were dictated by a religion.

Indeed, when a case can be made for a religious exemption to a given law, the law itself should be deemed suspect. If it is possible to allow prostitution or drug taking for religious reasons, why not for other reasons as well? Such exceptions are based on the notion that some freedoms, those specifically enumerated in the Constitution, are more important than others.

This view, which elevates religious freedom above other aspects of liberty, ignores a key idea embodied in the Constitution and expressed in the Ninth Amendment: "The enumeration in the Constitution, of certain rights, shall not be construed to deny or disparage others retained by the people." This amendment was intended precisely to avoid the im-

PAUL CARTER

pression that only the enumerated rights deserve protection—the mistaken premise underlying the rationale for religious exemptions.

Mormon plural marriage was the focus of the 1878 Supreme Court case that confirmed the federal government's authority to forbid religious practices deemed a threat to the public good. In *Reynolds* v. *United States*, the Court upheld the bigamy conviction of a Utah Mormon, declaring: "Laws are made for the government of actions, and while they cannot interfere with mere religious belief and opinions, they may with practices...the question is raised, whether religious belief can be accepted as a justification of an overt act made criminal by the law of the land....To permit this would be to make the professed doctrines of religious belief superior to the law of the land, and in effect to permit every citizen to become a law unto himself."

No one should be able to get away with murder or mayhem by citing religious doctrine.

This point, echoed by Scalia in the peyote case, is hard to argue with. After all, no one should be able to get away with murder or mayhem by citing religious doctrine. But it does not follow from this principle that the law against plural marriage was a legitimate exercise of government power. The Court's argument for this conclusion relies almost entirely on the historical treatment of polygamy, suggesting that since it had often been forbidden, it should continue to be forbidden. Having established that the government may prohibit certain religious practices, and having asserted that polygamy is one of them, the Supreme Court went even further in the 1889 case *Davis* v. *Beason*, finding that the state's interest in preventing plural marriages justified restrictions on freedom of speech and association.

The early Mormon polygamy decisions continue to influence cases involving proposed religious exemptions, and Scalia cites *Reynolds* repeatedly in the *Smith* decision. But the specific legislative and judicial precedents in the peyote case were more favorable. The case involved two members of the Native American Church who were dismissed from their jobs as drug counselors when their peyote use was discovered and who were subsequently denied state unemployment benefits because of their "misconduct." (The state never prosecuted them.)

Unlike the Church of the Most High Goddess, the Native American Church already enjoys some protection for its rituals. The federal Drug Enforcement Act and the drug laws of 23 states exempt the church's peyote use from prosecution. The rationale for this exception was expressed in a 1964 decision by the California Supreme Court, *People* v. *Woody*. The court found that the state's interest in preventing the use of hallucinogens could not justify suppressing a ritual essential to a long-established religion. The three-member minority in *Smith*, led by Justice Harry Blackmun, came to a similar conclusion, finding that an exemption would not seriously compromise Oregon's drug laws.

Although this argument is widely accepted, it has not been extended to similar drug cases, such as marijuana use by the Ethiopian Coptic Church. In addition to sympathy for Native Americans, peyotism has the advantage of a long history, a fact noted in the *Woody* opinion. That believers in old religions should enjoy greater protection than followers of new sects may seem unfair, but there is a certain logic to this rule. Once religious freedom is granted special protection, courts must probe the sincerity of religious belief. They must ask the question: Are these people for real, or are they just faking it so they can get away with their deviant hobby?

Unable to look into the minds of adherents, the courts seek other evidence that the alleged ritual is authentic. The longer a purported religious practice has been around, the stronger its claim to

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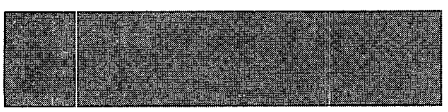

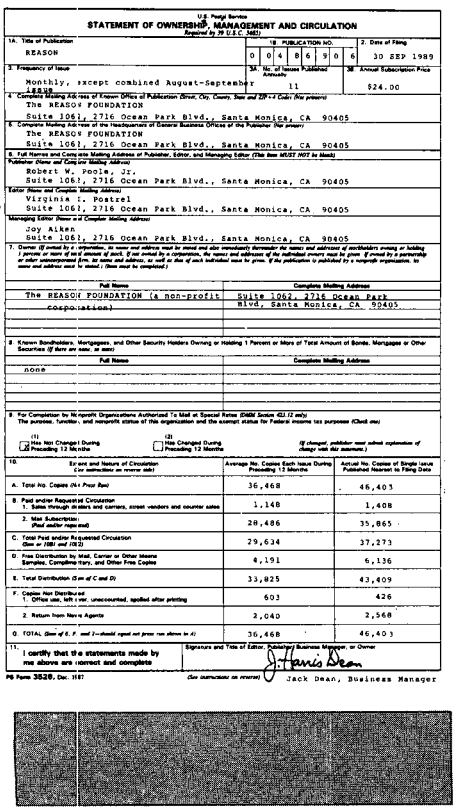

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STATEMENT OF OWNERSHIP, MANAGEMENT AND CIRCULATION
(Required by 39 U.S.C. 3685)

1A. Title of Publication	1B. PUBLICATION NO.	2. Date of Filing
REASON	0 0 4 8 6 9 0 6	30 SEP 1989

3. Frequency of Issue	3A. No. of Issues Published Annually	3B. Annual Subscription Price
Monthly, except combined August-September issue	11	$24.00

4. Complete Mailing Address of Known Office of Publication (Street, City, County, State and ZIP+4 Code) (Not printers)
The REASON FOUNDATION
Suite 1061, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405

5. Complete Mailing Address of the Headquarters or General Business Offices of the Publisher (Not printer)
The REASON FOUNDATION
Suite 1061, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405

6. Full Names and Complete Mailing Address of Publisher, Editor, and Managing Editor (This item MUST NOT be blank)
Publisher (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
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Suite 1061, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405
Editor (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
Virginia I. Postrel
Suite 1061, 2716 Ocean Park Blvd., Santa Monica, CA 90405
Managing Editor (Name and Complete Mailing Address)
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10. Extent and Nature of Circulation (See instructions on reverse side)	Average No. Copies Each Issue During Preceding 12 Months	Actual No. Copies of Single Issue Published Nearest to Filing Date
A. Total No. Copies (Net Press Run)	36,468	46,403
B. Paid and/or Requested Circulation 1. Sales through dealers and carriers, street vendors and counter sales	1,148	1,408
2. Mail Subscription (Paid and/or requested)	28,486	35,865
C. Total Paid and/or Requested Circulation (Sum of 10B1 and 10B2)	29,634	37,273
D. Free Distribution by Mail, Carrier or Other Means Samples, Complimentary, and Other Free Copies	4,191	6,136
E. Total Distribution (Sum of C and D)	33,825	43,409
F. Copies Not Distributed 1. Office use, left over, unaccounted, spoiled after printing	603	426
2. Return from News Agents	2,040	2,568
G. TOTAL (Sum of E, F and 2—should equal net press run shown in A)	36,468	46,403

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THE LAW

legitimacy. Hence the authors of the National Prohibition Act had no problem making exceptions for sacramental wine used by Jews or Catholics.

Scalia does not believe the Constitution requires such exemptions, which he would leave to the legislatures. He notes that such a policy allows courts to avoid the messy business of sorting through alleged religious practices and deciding which merit protection. "What principle of law or logic can be brought to bear to contradict a believer's assertion that a particular act is 'central' to his personal faith?" he asks in *Smith*. "Repeatedly and in many different contexts, we have warned that courts must not presume to determine the place of a particular belief or the plausibility of a religious claim."

Yet the Court has also repeatedly tried to do just that. In *Wisconsin* v. *Yoder*, for example, the Court found that a state law requiring formal education of children beyond the eighth grade violated the First Amendment rights of Amish residents. In addition to the importance of compulsory education, the 1972 decision considered the significance within the Amish religion of keeping children at home and the long history and evident sincerity of Amish beliefs.

Scalia does not question *Yoder*, because the case involved not only religious freedom but also, he says, the right of parents to direct their children's education.

Of course, the peyote case—in principle, at least—might also have been argued on broader grounds. Drug laws, after all, infringe not only on religious freedom but also on privacy, property rights, and other aspects of individual liberty. Indeed, focusing on religion distracts attention from the central issue of whether the prohibition is legitimate.

As Southwestern University law professor Norm Karlin points out, the Court inquires into the state's authority to impose a legal requirement only if it finds that free exercise (or some other approved right) has been impaired. If so, it looks for a "compelling state interest"—which, Michael McConnell and Richard Posner note in the winter issue of *The University of Chicago Law Review*, might mean "provision of public goods," "paternalism," or "enforcement of morality" as well as "prevention of negative externalities." They add that "the Court has tended to treat almost any government interest...as sufficient to outweigh free exercise claims."

Even when such claims prevail, the special treatment of religious freedom tends to devalue other liberties, just as those who insisted on the inclusion of the Ninth Amendment in the Bill of Rights feared it might. Moreover, exemptions intended to satisfy the Free Exercise Clause arguably violate the Establishment Clause by writing privileges for religious groups into the law. And as we have seen, they invite unseemly judicial examination of religious belief.

As with the other enumerated rights, the protection of religious liberty grew out of experience. The fact that the Constitution specifically refers to freedom of religion indicates that the Framers were familiar with religious persecution, considered it a salient danger, and were keen to prevent it. The First Amendment is also evidence that many individuals of the time found religious freedom important in their own lives. But as the Ninth Amendment makes clear, the Free Exercise Clause does not mean that other rights are less worthy of protection, or that religious people somehow deserve more freedom than do nonbelievers.

To permit some individuals to ignore laws because of their asserted beliefs, while compelling others to obey, is manifestly unjust. The strategy of seeking religious exemptions from legal prohibitions may win limited gains for particular groups; certainly it has a better track record than challenges based on the all-but-forgotten Ninth Amendment.

At the same time, however, the religious-exemption approach shifts the burden of proof from the government to small minorities claiming the privilege of disobeying laws observed by everyone else. It reinforces the dangerous presumption that the state is right until proven wrong.

Jacob Sullum is assistant editor of REASON.

BAIT AND SWITCH

BY DEBRA J. SAUNDERS

Alan Cranston wants to clean up Congress. No, the four-term senator from California is not going to resign. In fact, he has indicated that he will run for a fifth term in 1992.

But given Cranston's ties to Charles H. Keating, Jr., owner of the bankrupt Lincoln Savings & Loan—the large contributions Keating made to Cranston and four other senators and these five senators' alleged role in preventing federal regulators from closing Lincoln—some might argue that Cranston should resign. After all, bailing out Lincoln will cost taxpayers $2.5 billion.

But Cranston isn't talking resignation. In fact, he's trying hard to play down his involvement with Lincoln. Instead, Cranston is pushing campaign reform as a way to clean up politics. And he has some strange allies: Common Cause and Public Citizen, two groups that claim to be dedicated to making sure that politics stay clean and that politicians are responsive to the voters.

The reformers think they have Congress right where they want it. "The time is right," says Public Citizen President Joan Claybrook. But when career do-gooders team up with a political sharpie like Cranston, we should ask who's using whom.

Both Cranston and his newfound allies agree on the source of dirty politics: the high cost of campaigning. As Claybrook explains, the heavy expenses of modern campaigning—buying TV time, mass mailings, travel—have driven some legislators "into the arms of special interest groups who are more than happy to provide the money." For Cranston this provides a convenient excuse for his involvement with Keating. In effect, he's telling voters, "Don't blame me; blame the system."

Cranston and his allies also agree on the solution: charge the high cost of campaigning to taxpayers. Cranston has proposed a voluntary $1.00-a-month payroll tax to fund congressional campaigns. "So long as our elected representatives must depend on private campaign contributions to be viable candidates, our political system will be suspect," Cranston told a Senate committee in February. His reputation suffers; voters pay.

This ruse seems popular among politicians with reputation problems. Three other senators with ties to Keating—Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), John Glenn (D-Ohio), and Don Reigle (D-Mich.)—have also jumped on board the public financing bandwagon. And Sen. Alfonse D'Amato (R-N.Y.) announced his support for public financing after coming under investigation for his possible role in the HUD and Wedtech scandals.

In addition to distracting the public from their alleged misdeeds, public financing holds another attraction for these senators: It gives incumbents an advantage over challengers. That is why Democrats, who hold a majority in both houses of Congress, have traditionally been more receptive to public financing than Republicans, or at least, Republicans who aren't under investigation.

The entire electoral system is stacked against the challenger. Incumbents usually enjoy greater name recognition than their opponents; they have an easier time getting free air time on the evening news. They can use C-SPAN to beam their speeches into every home in their districts wired for cable; challengers cannot.

Perhaps most important, incumbents have franking privileges that challengers don't. Members of Congress spend millions each year mailing taxpayer-subsidized newsletters to the constituents back home. Ostensibly, these newsletters keep the voters up to date on their representatives' every move. But actually, they do little more than tout incumbents' accomplishments. It's no accident that franking expenses have tended to go up in election years.

Reformers say that only by offering candidates public financing can they get them to agree to spending limits. But public financing and spending limits do not address the real advantages over challengers that the system gives to incumbents.

Further, any election reform package will inevitably have loopholes, and incumbents have an incentive to find these loopholes. For example, existing federal laws have placed limits on what one individual may contribute to a politician's campaign, but have left no limit on the money that may be donated to neutral efforts such as voter registration drives. Part of the investigation of Cranston involves $850,000 that Keating donated to voter registration groups whose efforts may have aided Cranston. By donating money to the registration drives Keating

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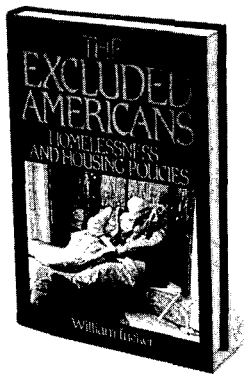

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CORRUPTION

evaded the limits and helped his buddy.

But this wasn't the first time Cranston tried to find an advantageous loophole. During his February testimony advocating public financing, Cranston reminded the Senate committee of his involvement in passing the Elections Campaign Act of 1973. But he didn't mention that he has been cited for breaking the rules of that very act during his 1984 presidential bid. The Federal Election Commission later fined Cranston for exceeding the Iowa spending limit of $684,537 by $307,116. In that campaign, Cranston also managed to ring up more than $166,000 in bad checks, despite the public financing he received from the presidential matching funds.

Election reform packages inevitably become employment programs for the lawyers who interpret the rules for politicians, lobbyists and interest groups. One lawyer recently gave me his explanation of how election reform works: Election laws are revised, then after a while politicians find the loopholes, then new reforms are written.

The only problem with this explanation is that politicians don't find the loopholes after a while; they pick up on them almost immediately. After all, they wrote the laws; they should be able to squeeze through the loopholes long before the rest of us ever know they're there.

The key to reform is not another round of reforms and loopholes, and it certainly isn't asking taxpayers to foot the bill for campaigns. In order to further clean government, we must have competitive elections, and that means removing some of the structural advantages incumbents have.

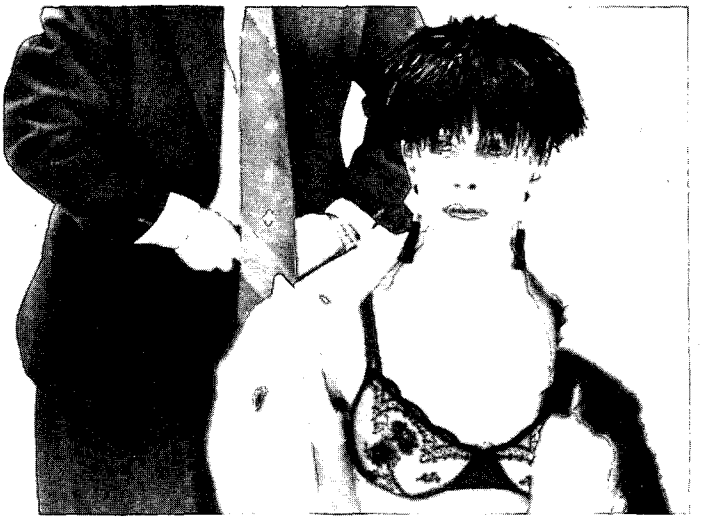
The key to reform lies in limits on the number of terms a legislator may serve, reduced franking privileges, and neutral apportionment of congressional districts. These types of reforms would do more to ensure clean, competitive elections than any of the proposals that Alan Cranston and his allies have made.

Debra J. Saunders is an editorial writer for the Los Angeles Daily News.

MM-MMM-GOOD

BY DAVID BRUDNOY

If ever a film has demonstrated the absurdity of the Motion Picture Association of America rating system, it is Peter Greenaway's harrowing *The Cook, The Thief, His Wife & Her Lover.* No particular religious traditions are violated here. The nasty-word quotient is far lower than in the typical Ramboesque vengeance film. The nudity, granted, is straight-on. But unclad women are not unusual in R-rated movies, and unless a man is, in the phraseology of the day, tumescent—and the man here is not—even male nudity needn't earn a movie the irksome X. Still, the Torquemadas at the MPAA slapped an X on the film.



Alan Howard (the lover) and Helen Mirren (the wife): The film's overall content jolts and unnerves the viewer.

Greenaway refused to alter his work. And the distributor refused to release it with the X attached, so the movie now wends its way through America unrated.

In fact, Greenaway could not have gotten a better rating by changing one single scene. It is the overall content of the film that sets its detractors' teeth on edge. Whether anybody sashays through the cook's kitchen naked or not, whether anybody makes the beast with two backs in the pantry or not, whether anything specific happens or not, the tone is of such savage intensity and the theme so achingly dyspeptic—not to mention so wonderfully derisive of consumerism and selfishness—that to see it and to take seriously what one sees is to be jolted, if not unnerved.

Most of Greenaway's output during the past quarter century has not been seen in the United States. And only his *The Draughtsman's Contract*, something of a Renaissance murder mystery, and *A Zed and Two Noughts*, something fairly indescribable about twins and zoos and absolute commitment to an *idée fixe*, have drawn the sort of attention that would alert intrepid filmgoers to what awaits them in *Cook*.

Greenaway is not shy about commenting on just what his movies are about, but what he says isn't necessarily what he means—and even when he says just what he means, his movies don't necessarily mean to others what they mean to him. They are in a sense litmus tests of the moviegoer's own value system. While not as bizarre as *Zed* or as refined and spooky as *Draughtsman's Contract*, *Cook* is their match in provoking widely (and sometimes wildly) differing responses.

Some assume that Greenaway's work, especially this one, is an indictment of conservative, particularly Thatcherite, politics. Others have remarked that it seems more an indictment of gluttony. Still others, perhaps awed by the amazing color palette, have focused on the supposed hidden meanings of colors themselves. Greenaway's own comments differ from one interview to another.

Cook seems to be a rigorous, even painful excursion into the phenomenon of fending off the ordinary ravages of life by indulging in sensual pleasures, particularly eating, having sex, and tyrannizing others. If the latter doesn't seem sensual to you, it does to many—among them Henry Kissinger, who is said to have remarked that power is the ultimate aphrodisiac.

Here, in the thief, Albert (Michael Gambon), we've the horrific sensualist as power-mad tyrant. He humiliates his wife in every imaginable way. He degrades servants, passers-by, and his mother. He does this nightly at the same restaurant, Le Hollandais, which is run by the cook, Richard (Richard Bohringer). Albert's patronage seems to be the primary reason for the restaurant's success.

His wife Georgina (Helen Mirren) manifestly detests Albert's vulgarity and his plodding crew of underlings. She finds her salvation not in the devouring of gorgeous meals but in having sex, more or less between courses and as a way of testing dangerously the limits of Albert's obtuseness. Georgina spots an ordinary-looking fellow across the room (Alan Howard), who reads as he eats—perhaps his escape from mere hedonism. She connects with him in a bathroom and thereafter enjoys his most intimate company in, among other places, Richard's kitchen. Eventually they flee from Albert to the lover's book depository, where he specializes in collecting, and presumably selling, tomes on the French Revolution. There for a brief time they enjoy the fullness of their lust undisturbed.

As outlined *Cook* sounds unexceptional. On that level, it is merely another movie about adultery and male abuse of women. But Greenaway uses plot as thread to bind together ideas and sensations, not the latter to flesh out plot. What so brutally disrupts an audience's accustomed indifference is not the story but the

intensity of its presentation: its use, for example, of a throbbingly monotonous, almost maddeningly insistent score by Michael Nyman, music that reminds some of Philip Glass's work but has little of Glass's comforting quality.

Greenaway's use of color is equally calculated. Five colors set the stage: blue, for the outside back of the restaurant where meats rot in trucks; red, in the restaurant's grand salon; green, in the cavernous kitchen; white, in the bathrooms; and yellow or golden pale brown in the book depository. Who but Greenaway would have characters' clothing change color the instant they pass from one milieu to the next? Possibly the color shifts are mere conceits; I can't quite piece together the actual meaning of the color shifts themselves, though obviously the colors in context are appropriate, even tritely so. Still, if this film really is about insistently (almost compulsively) serious attention to getting the most out of what feels good, then the colors take on, somehow, the meaning of their place, as if we're being teased a bit about what is and what is not appropriate in which locale.

The film throbs with ambiguities, among them a scullion of surpassing loveliness, who sings in a glorious soprano and is verbally tormented and physically mutilated by the thief. For much of the film, the child might as well be a girl as a boy. And the precise nature of the relationship between the thief and the restaurateur is unclear: Does the thief own or in some way part-own the restaurant?

But Greenaway also enjoys lobbing unsophisticated ironies at his audience: the dining room is dominated by a huge Frans Hals painting of distinguished Dutch burghers banqueting, in front of which, without much ado, Albert and his coterie strike on one occasion an identical pose.

Some people might prefer a detailed analysis of the symbols in *Cook*, but I doubt that any is possible without reducing the film to numbers. It is idiosyncratic and in many ways an excursion into the mind of the movie patron, as much as into the particular crotchets of the moviemaker.

The Cook, The Thief, His Wife & Her Lover ends on two notes: savagery and vengeance through an act of utter barbarism. The movie invites us less to wonder what's going on in the backroom kitchens of posh eateries than to ponder what's going on in the frontal lobes of everybody we encounter. It disorients because it wholly dispenses with civility while nestling primarily in a temple of *la plus haute* cuisine. Truly, an X rating is not only ridiculous here, but superfluous.

Contributing Editor David Brudnoy is WBZ *Radio's evening talk host and film critic for the* TAB *newspapers in Massachusetts.*

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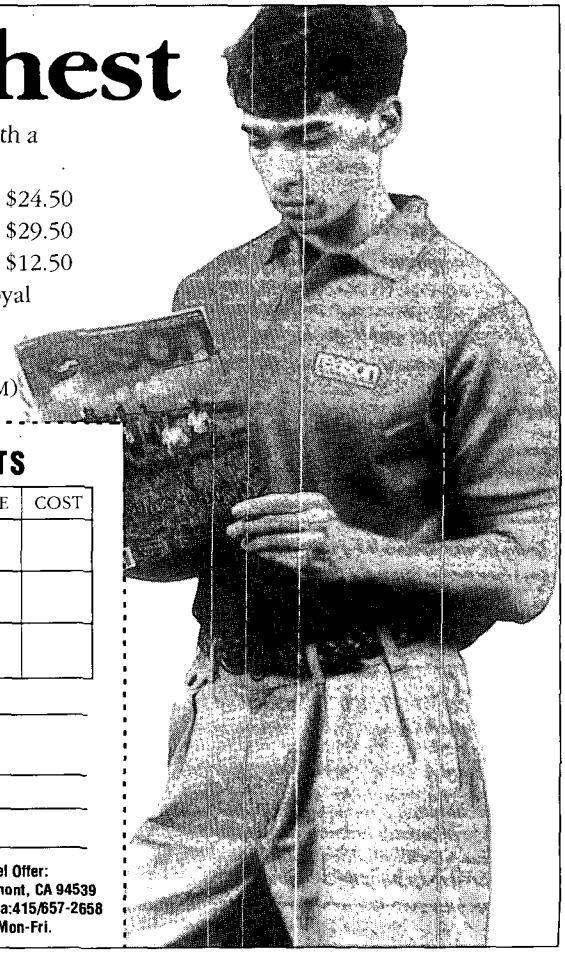

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FIGHT THE POWER

BY CLINT BOLICK

When the U.S. Supreme Court last summer issued a series of rulings on civil-rights issues, an apoplectic Benjamin Hooks, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, threatened "civil disobedience on a mass scale that has never been seen in this country before."

But Hooks couldn't deliver. When the NAACP and its allies were unable to generate enthusiasm among their members, they downsized an announced rally to protest the Court's rulings from a "mass march on Washington" to a "silent vigil." The event barely registered a blip in the evening news.

This failure of mainstream blacks to follow their media-anointed leaders was only the latest evidence of a growing gulf between establishment civil-rights groups and the people they claim to represent. Surveys repeatedly show that blacks in general differ markedly with civil-rights leaders in their views on such issues as forced busing, racial preferences, and capital punishment. The NAACP has been leaking members like a sieve—particularly young blacks who increasingly view civil-rights groups as irrelevant to their needs.

The civil-rights groups are responding to the revolt in the only way they know how: by demanding yet another civil-rights law. In fact, the so-called Civil Rights Act of 1990 is the most sweeping civil-rights legislation in a quarter century.

Sen. Ted Kennedy (D-Mass.), the bill's main sponsor, claims that the law will merely "overturn these Court decisions and restore and strengthen" civil-rights laws. But in overturning the Court's decisions, the bill would accomplish a complete transformation of the meaning of civil rights from those basic rights we all share equally as Americans into special privileges for some and burdens for others.

In its landmark decision in *Wards Cove Packing Co.* v. *Atonio*, the Supreme Court rejected the presumption that any significant differences in outcome among groups is attributable to discrimination and curable only by coercive race-conscious measures. It acknowledged that statistical disparities may imply discrimination but held that the burden remains with plaintiffs to prove that such disparities were actually caused by discrimination.

Wisconsin state legislator Polly Williams: "We want self-determination."

The Kennedy bill would shift this burden, requiring that employers defend themselves against statistics-based discrimination challenges by proving that their policies are "essential" to job performance. This standard has proved impossible to satisfy in courts that applied it in the past, leading businesses to adopt quotas to avoid litigation—precisely the effect the bill's supporters desire.

Even as the bill moves toward probable passage, however, the civil-rights establishment's intellectual underpinnings and popular support are rapidly eroding. Liberal University of Chicago sociologist William Julius Wilson observes that race-conscious measures have aided well-qualified minorities but have not helped the truly disadvantaged, who lack the skills and mobility necessary to take advantage of opportunities.

By focusing on discrimination as the primary factor affecting black outcomes, Wilson argues, the "equal outcome" agenda divides Americans along racial lines and does nothing to solve the problems of educational deficiency, welfare dependency, and isolation that plague the largely black "underclass."

Meanwhile, activists at the grassroots level are bypassing the civil-rights establishment. Returning to the traditional civil-rights objective of individual empowerment, these activists have set their sights on such barriers to opportunity as the public school monopoly, restrictions of entry into businesses and professions, the welfare system, and crime.

Empowerment activism is perhaps best exemplified by Polly Williams, a state legislator who served as Wisconsin coordinator for Jesse Jackson's presidential campaigns. Earlier this year, Williams won approval of a voucher program to allow Milwaukee youngsters to attend the public or private school of their choice. The plan was opposed by white liberals and the American Civil Liberties Union.

"They say they're liberal," charges Williams, "but when it came to empowering black people, they stab us in the back. We want self-determination, not handouts and dependency."

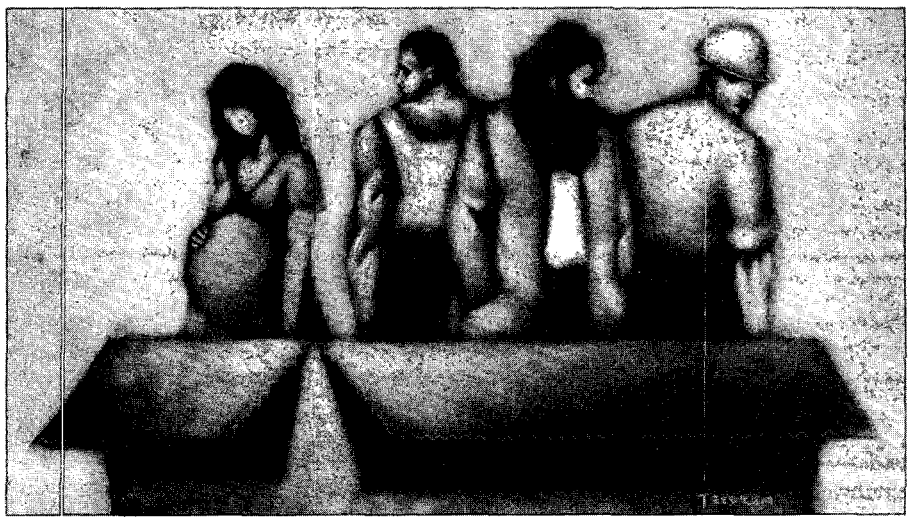
The Polly Williamses of the world have a long way to go before they can dislodge recently developed conventional wisdom on civil-rights issues. But their emergence may provide an important breakthrough in fulfilling at last America's commitment to liberty and opportunity for all.

Clint Bolick is director of the Landmark Legal Foundation Center for Civil Rights and author of Unfinished Business: A Civil Rights Strategy for America's Third Century *(Pacific Research Institute).*

Po' Folks

BY KARL ZINSMEISTER

The Undeserving Poor, by Michael Katz
New York: Pantheon, 293 pages, $22.95/$14.95 paper



Michael Katz has written a book about poverty that contains no new arguments or facts and no passion or conviction of the sort that can occasionally cause reinterpretation of old material. It is a book that, in my opinion, errs in many important ways. Yet it is not a book I could get angry with; I found it agreeable to read, and it left me with a kind of gentle sadness. It is one of those discussions where you get the feeling that even the author suspects his case is hopeless.

Poverty is a topic near intellectual exhaustion—particularly when approached from the political left. (Katz reasons as a Marxist, though I have no way of knowing if that is how he identifies himself). Generations of interpreters have twisted and knotted themselves around the subject, eyes averted from the central taboos, producing one of the most cramped and oxygen-starved of policy literatures. The only discussions of the subject that have much originality these days are ones that consciously throw aside the layered pietisms and examine the brutally simple questions that most social scientists would prefer to keep deeply buried at the base of the mental pyramid. Basic things like: Do people feel better and live better when they work? What moves people to labor? Is a human entitled to his fellows' support?

Unfortunately, Katz's idea of going to the root is to call for "economic justice and political mobilization" by means of instruments like "controls on plant relocation, the stimulation of community-based economic development, the redistribution of political power, and a guaranteed income." If those seem like somewhat vague goals, let me say that I actually scoured his book to get that specific. Characteristic of most academic publishing these days, Katz writes with his neck pulled in, taking few risks and venturing almost not at all into the dangerous exploratory work of social invention.

Socialist theory tells Katz that the solution to poverty in industrial countries lies in turning the world upside down—state-imposed "distributive justice" is obviously his ideal. He avers that poverty has nothing to do with the particularities of human behavior or localized conditions, that it is about "power." A revolution something like those that swept the Third World in the 1960s is what is required for its abolition, he suggests.

But he says this only indirectly, without much heart. There is less-ambitious boilerplate in here about hidden successes in the CETA program and so forth, and the possibilities for better results from traditional income leveling plans if only the funding can be increased. But this, too, is unconvincing. Katz is an obviously intelligent man; he understands well the long debate over the sources of modern poverty, and he appreciates how durable poverty has proved to be in the face of repeated public attacks. One gets the feeling he is discouraged, and a little tired. Understandably so. None of what he calls for has ever worked, in this country or others.

The real root of Katz's failing lies in the central tenet of his book: his refusal to accept that there are categories of poor. He argues strongly against any differentiation or discrimination among the poor. Indeed, he makes the more radical case denying functional distinctions between economically successful and unsuccessful persons. Longstanding efforts by scholars to understand differing sources of poverty, and to draw "arbitrary distinctions" among "deserving" and "undeserving" poor are, he insists, baseless.

Which leaves us in the unfortunate position of having to dump the retired poor, the drug-addicted poor, the disabled poor, the criminal poor, the juvenile poor, and others all together into one lumpy stew. The idea that you can improve the

TIM TEEBKEN

physical welfare of a steam-grate wino, or the infant of an unmarried teenage mother, the same way you help a West Virginia coal miner thrown out of work by the Clean Air Act is the kind of thing that only sociology professors think of. Thankfully.

The occasional leftist gas bubble also contributes to the artificiality of Katz's thesis. For instance, he approvingly quotes Charles Reich's "elegant redefinition of property": Property is a collective product created by state law. If this is true, one wonders why the Ethiopian government does not just pass an edict declaring that there is food for all, or why the Romanians do not decree equal heat for every home. Perhaps they have.

Happily, these intellectual surrealisms can be skirted, and the larger part of Katz's text is a concise, generally fair, and sometimes even epigrammatic history of arguments on the poverty question dating particularly from the early 1960s to the mid-1980s. Oscar Lewis, Edward Banfield, and the "culture of poverty" are recapitulated interestingly, as is the battle over the Moynihan Report. An extended tracing of the black family debate is presented, and the conservative criticisms of Gilder, Murray, and Mead are summarized. A lot of this material is pretty well worn—Molly Orshansky and the origins of the poverty index, the Rawls-Nozick debate, the statistical war over homelessness, and so forth—but it is woven together nicely.

For this compilation of historical sketches the book will probably earn a handy spot in certain libraries. But by the conclusion of most chapters, and at the end of the book, an impression of vagueness wells up: So what? Does this matter? What is to be done?

One would like to admire a pithy, well-phrased book like this. But we live in a time of economic expansion to the point of labor shortage, yet where infant mortality is rising in some urban areas for the first time in decades, where generations are growing up without close knowledge of a single self-supporting adult, where crime has become at least a temporary career choice of perhaps a quarter of all young men living in cities, where average black life expectancy has actually fallen for three years running. In the face of cold, clashing, catastrophic patterns like these, Katz's incantation of Michael Harrington's muffled solution—"when we join in solidarity...with the poor we will rediscover our own best selves"—reeks of fire-midst fiddling.

Contributing Editor Karl Zinsmeister is a Washington, D.C., writer.

Open the Floodgates

BY ANNELISE ANDERSON

The Economic Consequences of Immigration, by Julian L. Simon
Cambridge, Mass.: Basil Blackwell, 402 pages, $39.95

How many immigrants, of what kinds, should the United States admit—and on what terms? These are the questions Julian Simon's *The Economic Consequences of Immigration* addresses.

Simon is a well-known proponent of more immigration—but this was not always his position. When he began studying the economics of population two decades ago, he believed, he tells us, that more people would be damaging to the world and the United States; it was the literature that changed his mind. His careful and critical review of the relevant literature explains the problems with various studies not in the technical jargon of the economics journalists, but in language appropriate to the laymen Simon hopes to reach. As such, this book provides a model of how professional economists should write for a general audience—and perhaps for each other as well.

Simon's analysis of the economic consequences of immigration is detailed; he takes us through his reasoning step by step. There is perhaps much more to be considered than most of us realize: not only whether or not immigrants take jobs from natives, but their tax contributions and the demands they place on public treasuries; their effect on natural resources, the environment, technology, and the productivity of natives; and the consequences of their use of capital goods.

Immigration is not, Simon finds, high by historical standards—and immigrants constitute a far smaller percentage of the U.S. population than they did in the early 20th century or than they do in many other countries such as Great Britain, Switzerland, and France. On average they're as well educated as the U.S. population and include a disproportionate number of professional and technical people. More of them work, they save more than the native population, and they're just as law-abiding.

Furthermore, they get less in transfer payments—welfare and public services, including education for their children—than natives, mainly because most of them are too young to be getting Social Security or Medicare.

Immigrants take jobs—but they also make jobs, and they make more jobs than they take. They're more likely to create new businesses than natives.

Does no one get hurt? In the short run, increased unemployment of those most like the immigrants is a possibility, just as foreign trade may reduce employment and output in some local industries but benefit the country overall. Simon's general conclusion is that immigrants have improved the lot of natives, however, and that more immigration would be beneficial economically for the United States. How much more?

Simon isn't sure. But he is sure that higher levels of immigration, above the current level of up to 800,000 a year, would be beneficial, and he recommends that total immigration be increased every year. Because we don't know at what levels undesirable consequences may occur, Simon doesn't argue for open borders, but he isn't certain that there are any

good arguments against an open-border policy. He notes that before World War I limiting immigration was thought to be an uncivilized restriction of freedom.

Simon recommends not only admitting more immigrants—doubling the current level, and then perhaps doubling it again—but also giving preference to immigrants who have completed courses of study in the United States, those with more formal education and better skills in the English language, and those who will bring with them financial assets. But Simon's ideal is an auction, even though he sees it as a policy unlikely to be adopted. Potential immigrants would bid against each other for the limited number of chances to become U.S. residents and eventually citizens. An auction would self-select those who felt they had the best chances for economic success in the United States and would thus benefit natives. Immigrants would be permitted to repay their immigration fees out of earnings as an add-on to taxes.

An auction would be at least as fair as the current system, Simon argues, and it could be used to compensate sending countries for the loss of their citizens. I'm not entirely convinced, however, that economic capability is all we want from immigrants.

I've talked to quite a few recent immigrants who drive taxicabs in the United States. One of them was from the Soviet Union. He remarked on the competitiveness of American life, the high incidence of crime, the lower level of benefits provided by the state. But, he said, there is freedom! I think it's good having those people around.

As for illegal immigration, Simon would prefer a guest worker program. Otherwise, he says, we should just "muddle through." But muddling through is what we did until the U.S. Congress passed the 1986 Immigration Reform and Control Act, which established penalties for employers who hire illegal entrants. I and others predicted that this legislation would be ineffective in restricting illegal entry, would encourage discrimination by employers as a means of avoiding legal penalties, would increase the use of fraudulent documents, and would generate demands for ever-stronger enforcement measures.

Those predictions are proving correct. A report earlier this year from the General Accounting Office documented widespread discrimination against job applicants who look or sound foreign. Meanwhile, the current commissioner of the Immigration and Naturalization Service, Gene McNary, is advocating a national identity card or "employment authorization document" to be carried by all employment-aged individuals—to make the law against hiring illegal aliens more effective and reduce its discriminatory consequences.

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An "employment authorization document" could obviously be used—or will no doubt be used—for many other purposes. This threat to liberty in the guise of making employer sanctions work better is the most important issue in immigration policy today.

The coming debate has powerful people on both sides. The opponents, who may argue for repeal of employer sanctions, include some business interests, immigrant groups such as the League of United Latin American Citizens, the American Civil Liberties Union, and Sen. Alan Cranston (D-Calif.), who calls a national ID card an "internal passport system—a primary tool of totalitarian governments." Proponents of a national identity system include the Federation for American Immigration Reform, Sen. Alan Simpson (R-Wyo.), and Reps. Howard Berman (D-Calif.) and Bruce Morrison (D-Conn.). The consequences of a national identity card are serious enough that this is a good one to fight.

Other immigration legislation—the Kennedy–Simpson bill—has passed the Senate this year and could be a vehicle, in the House or in conference, for passing an amendment creating a national identity card. The bill would make a variety of changes in the system for granting visas and has been the subject of a *Wall Street Journal* op-ed by Simon himself, who concludes that the proposed system of preference is designed to reduce Hispanic and Asian immigration but overall doesn't allow total immigration to increase.

Immigration policy is one of those areas where the broadcast media, especially television but radio as well, have served us badly. The telegenic side of the story—the supposed floods of immigrants, legal or illegal, and the fear that newcomers will take jobs from natives and bring with them new languages and cultures—seems to outweigh any rational and dispassionate arguments of the kind Simon offers.

Simon's book documents the terms in which the debate has been carried out, and an appendix based on Rita Simon's historical research demonstrates that our xenophobia is not new. Although we find past immigrants beneficial, we always fear the current wave, and the media and the politicians have fed these fears.

Julian Simon has given us not only the best and most comprehensive book ever written on the economic consequences of immigration but a book that deals directly with the public-policy issues. It is an essential book not only for economists but for policymakers as the nation continues to debate who and how many shall come through the golden door in the months and years to come.

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Good Sense, Bad Delivery

BY ADAM GARFINKLE

The Great Universal Embrace: Arms Summitry—A Skeptic's Account
By Kenneth L. Adelman, New York: Simon and Schuster, 349 pages, $19.95

Kenneth Adelman was director of the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency from January 1983 to December 1987, and *The Great Universal Embrace* is his reflection on the experience. Taken as a whole, the book reminds one of Ronald Reagan. Reagan had little patience for details and possessed no gift for administration, to put it mildly. But he did have half a dozen core beliefs that, for all their simplicity, turned out to be basically right. He showed what powerful ideas can mean in politics.

But in books as in politics, the right ideas don't speak for themselves. Without care to expression and organization, readers are burdened with understanding the author's best thought despite his worst delivery. That's the problem here.

The book's main theses are essentially correct, making it a refuge of common sense amid volumes of weepy or hysterical illusion about arms control. Adelman contends that arms control is far less important than most people think and thus consumes far more high executive time than it should. Arms control is not a substitute for defense policy, but an adjunct to it, not a means of stopping superpower competition, but a method of waging it. Arms control has not appreciably eased U.S. security dilemmas or made peace more secure; neither has it much worsened our situation or brought us closer to war.

This is because the arms competition derives from political conflict, not the other way around. Arms control, therefore, turns out to be easier to deal with than regional conflicts, for example, because it's about peripheral matters. At certain stages, arms control can be turned into a technical exercise, a playing around with numbers that doesn't settle—or even raise—any really important issues.

Adelman recognizes that pieces of paper cannot change geopolitical realities.

Arms control, therefore, has been a palliative, manipulated by government spin merchants who have led many people to think that SALT I or SALT II, for example, represented real progress. That's just not so, Adelman asserts, and he's right. Pieces of paper, no matter how solemnly inscribed or media-hyped they are, cannot by themselves change geopolitical realities. Despite the episodic hysteria about the nuclear peril, real as it may be, the true danger flows from politics broadly construed and not from the weapons themselves. As Charles Manning, a British political philosopher, one said: You do not affect the position of a shadow by acting on the shadow. Neither do you get at the core of U.S.–Soviet animosity by playing at arms control.

Moreover, Adelman argues, we may get most of what arms control has sought to deliver all these years through other avenues. Take Europe. The Soviet position in Europe has crumbled because of political changes. Soviet domination of Eastern Europe has been the central problem of the Cold War all along, as conservatives have always argued. The weapons weren't the problem, just a symptom. Since conventional arms control in Europe has tried to deal only with the symptoms, it should never have been expected to achieve anything very significant. Now that important political changes have occurred, we can have an arms-control agreement precisely at the moment when we no longer need one.

Because Adelman has the basics right, his assessments of current arms-control negotiations are generally on target. For example, the START treaty before us is as likely to do harm as good. That's true because, so far, the treaty would not reduce the Soviet advantage in prompt hard-target counterforce systems and might actually make the ratio worse for the United States.

Arms control tends to reflect facts rather than create new ones. The Soviets have energetically pursued strategic modernization in the past six years despite economic trouble, wild-eyed Lithuanians, and other problems. We have not; hence the problem with START. If we want to solve the vulnerability of U.S. strategic retaliatory forces, we'll probably have to do it ourselves. If we do, the next strategic arms-control deal we make with the Russians will be "better" as a result.

As for SDI, Adelman believes it should be neither rushed nor junked. He's right again. SDI is too complex and too expensive to do in a hurry. Science and technology cannot be ordered up faster like so many hamburgers and milkshakes. On the other hand, SDI is much too important in the long run, and far too useful a bargaining lever with the Soviets, to simply abandon.

Developments since Adelman's book was published have confirmed his basic skepticism about conventional arms control in Europe. These negotiations have always been hopelessly complicated and unverifiable. Now, thanks to demands made on the Soviets by the newly autonomous Czechoslovakian, Hungarian, and Polish governments, they're irrelevant, too. Adelman could have gone further by explaining that arms control in Europe, involving 35 countries and dozens of weapons systems, can't work

for the same reason socialism can't work: It's impossible to plan military environments or economies in adequate detail given the inherent unpredictability of human beings.

Although Adelman's basic ideas are correct, his presentation is flawed. Adelman is right that arms control takes up an enormous amount of time in return for scant rewards, but it's within the interagency process that most of this time gets wasted, not at U.S.–Soviet summits. Yet Adelman mainly discusses summitry.

Disorganization also impairs Adelman's arguments. For example, his first case study reviews the famous October 1986 Reykjavik summit. The second retreats to a Geneva meeting between Andrei Gromyko and George Shultz in January 1985. Adelman claims the meeting laid the foundation for all that followed, which is true. So why discuss Reykjavik first?

The third chapter examines the November 1985 Geneva summit, and then we come to a fine general chapter on "Myths of Arms Control." But what's it doing between November 1985 and the Washington summit of December 1987? Then, *after* December 1987, comes "The Annual SALT Debates," which harkens back to 1979 and whose subsequent divagations engaged the Reagan administration more in its first than in its second term. Thanks to this nonchronological treatment, the main story line of arms-control negotiations is difficult to follow unless the reader is already familiar with it.

The book is confusing in other ways, too. At no one place are the essential issues of SDI, START, or a comprehensive test ban gathered together. The treatment of each is dispersed amid personal anecdotes, comments on personalities, and reflections on bureaucratic culture. The narrative jumps around like a flea with hiccoughs, so when Adelman presents his conclusions at the end of the book, the nonspecialist is unlikely to understand them fully.

The "here it is, here it isn't" approach to substantive issues results in clipped, misleading arguments. For example, in discussing a test ban, Adelman asserts that fewer tests mean having to keep more missiles because a government would be inclined to compensate for a decrease in reliability with an increase in numbers. Maybe, but Adelman neglects to mention that testing is also a key element in strategic modernization, which is more to the point.

Then there are the errors that can be blamed either on the author's inattention to detail or on the editing process. To pick but two: Adelman quotes "Jan Dubcek" on page 23 speaking of "communism with a human face." He means Alexander Dubcek. On page 66, Adelman refers to the Red Army "hurling across the Volga gap." He means the Fulda gap; why on earth would the Red Army in Europe attack to the east?

Such mistakes are unfortunate, because Adelman was accused unfairly in his ACDA nomination hearings of being an arms-control lightweight. True, Adelman's training was more in African affairs and English literature, but arms control is not so complicated that it requires decades of intense preparation. Still, mistakes like these don't help Adelman's reputation.

Finally, the audience problem. In the introduction, Adelman relates how he once encountered a friendly, a hostile, and a simply disinterested reception at three successive meetings in one day. These audiences had in common, however, a deep ignorance of security issues, and Adelman claims to be writing for them. But despite the witty narrative and avoidance of technical detail, the story line is too diffuse and the issues too cursorily explicated to really help such people.

Neither does the book work as memoir or participant chronicle. Scholars reconstructing the details of the Reagan administration's arms-control policies will find the stories too inspecific. Adelman often attributes a remark or an idea to another official without naming him, and he doesn't report in full on meetings, which he uses merely as illustrations.

The Reagan administration was successful at national security and foreign policy despite itself. The sad part is that had it been better organized, it could have done even more. Rather the same conclusion applies to *The Great Universal Embrace.*

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Immortal Questions

BY GREG COSTIKYAN

The Boat of a Million Years, by Poul Anderson, New York: Tor Books, 470 pages, $19.95

Poul Anderson is one of the most interesting talents in science fiction—and in some ways one of the hardest to pin down. His fiction can be read on one level as pure Campbellian action adventure, yet it is also concerned with serious philosophical issues. This is clearly how Anderson wants it; he will not allow his work to turn into a set of talking heads debating ideas. Instead, he wants well-drawn characters, interesting language, motion, and plot. The challenge, to which Anderson rises, is to show philosophical issues in action, not to yak about them—no 100-page political diatribes here.

And there is a third dimension to Anderson's work: an astounding breadth of scholarship. Anderson takes history and science quite as seriously as he takes his philosophy and his story-telling skills. When he says that a man in synchronous orbit around Jupiter must turn his head a little if he wants to look from one edge of the planet to another, you know that Anderson has done the calculation. When he says that a 13th-century Japanese nobleman would consider an ox-drawn carriage the only suitable means of transportation, you know that Anderson has researched the subject.

In consequence, the careful reader can draw many pleasures from Anderson's work: of a story well told, of ideas explored, of a fine attention to detail. There may be writers who write better, philosophers who speculate more deeply, historians and scientists with more comprehensive knowledge, but Anderson is a polymath; he brings it all together.

The Boat of a Million Years, like Anderson's other work, can be enjoyed as much for its idea content as for its story. Though many of Anderson's works are concerned with the philosophy of freedom, here his speculations deal instead with the long-term history of humanity. The book's ostensible theme is immortality. It traces through human history a group of immortals—men and women who simply do not die. There is no real explanation for this longevity; Anderson merely assumes that some small number of human beings are born without the built-in tendency to age and die.

The first three-quarters of the novel is straightforward "what-if": What if immortals had existed in history? How would they have survived? It is a reasonable question; in certain periods, someone who lived too long without growing old would be likely to find himself burned as a sorceror. Anderson's immortals adopt a number of survival strategies: One becomes a seaman, able to pull up stakes and sail away at a moment's notice; another becomes a prostitute, with an easy source of income and plenty of excuses for disappearing; a third becomes a middle-level bureaucrat, able to fake credentials for his new identities and always able to find work. Each of these immortals is born to a different civilization in a different era, allowing Anderson to display the variety of human culture.

But as technology advances, it becomes clear that Anderson is not simply exploring the problems of immortals. He is, instead, showing how technology makes fundamental changes not only in human culture but in human beings themselves. Before the rise of technology, human life is truly nasty, brutish, and short. As technology advances, people no longer worry about mere survival, but about... what?

In Anderson's final chapter, which takes up the last quarter of the novel, he shows a human society in which every want, every need is satisfied, one in which immortality is no longer the secret of a few, but available to all. When people need no longer strive to feed themselves, when the prospect of death no longer weighs on the human soul, what does humanity become?

Available evidence says the galaxy has not been explored. What, then, does this tell us about mature planetary civilizations—and humanity's own future?

This is Anderson's true concern. We now, after all, have the knowledge and ability to make it possible for every human on the planet to live free of hunger and privation; only cultural and governmental barriers stand in the way. The real problem we face is no longer mere survival; it is, rather, the danger our own technology poses. But the danger technology poses to the environment can only be solved by technology itself. Anderson's question is not far-fetched. Barring the collapse of civilization, the day will come when technology's triumph is complete, when there is no longer a need to strive.

To this prospect, Anderson adds a question: Where are the aliens?

It is a question that scientists ask very seriously. We have every reason to believe that life, including intelligent life, must have arisen within our galaxy many, many times. It is logical to think that at least one intelligent species would have developed interstellar travel. In the history of the universe, there has been plenty of time for interstellar civilization to expand throughout the galaxy. And yet our radio dishes receive no intelligent signals, we have found no trace of alien visitation on our world, and our explorations of the solar system have uncovered no evidence of previous exploration.

Anderson asks, Is there a connection between the problems of immortality and the apparent absence of extraterrestrial civilizations? Mature planetary civilizations have no wants, no needs, no fears of death. And only such civilizations have the technology to explore the galaxy. Available evidence says the galaxy has not been explored. What, then, does this tell us about mature planetary civilizations—and humanity's own future?

This is heady stuff. And, in retrospect, it becomes clear why Anderson spends so much of the novel introducing his immortals: They become proxies for ourselves. Anderson wants to portray a future civilization very different from any we have known. To make it comprehensible, he gives us characters we can comprehend, characters who grew up in eras when strife was still the norm. Through them he shows that humanity may well become something we might not consider truly human.

If this sounds like heavy slogging, recall the character of Anderson's fiction. His first concern, as always, is with story; this is no deadly philosophical tome, but a well-written novel by a master of the field. Indeed, I suspect that most of the novel's readers will see only the story, never recognizing the philosophical speculation that underpins it, just as they will never realize the depth of historical and scientific scholarship behind the work. And that, perhaps, is the book's best virtue: that anyone can enjoy it; that some can learn from it; and that a few may be fascinated by it.

Serious, speculative science fiction is increasingly rare in a field overrun with elfy-welfies and literary pretension. But as long as work of this caliber is still being written, hard science fiction must be considered a vibrant form.

Greg Costikyan is a writer of fiction and nonfiction who has designed 23 commercially published games.

A THOUSAND PINTS OF LITE

BY THOMAS W. HAZLETT

Let me share with you my crack dieting technique, perfected during two stressful decades of graduate school: With the advent of light beer, why suffer when shedding tonnage? The health science is plain: Regular beer has 175 calories per 12-ounce can, light beer has but 90. Hence, each Lite consumed saves 85 calories.

It takes 3,500 calories to burn up a pound; you must drink 41.18 Lites to dislodge 16 ounces of body matter. Even when in good shape, however, I find it difficult to maintain my competitive edge for more than a case a night. Therefore, on a seven-day-a-week workout schedule, it takes 55.56 days to drop 32.38 pounds—your physical fitness reward for diligently consuming exactly 1,000 pints of Lite.

You think this is funny math. You think I should be weighing in after these drinking binges, and comparing my weight before to my weight after. No way, José. I'm doing it right. This is the precise accounting method established by our government to track its own dieting efforts.

Take the annual budgets of the federal, state, county, city, school board, mosquito abatement district, etc. governments. Every year they go up. Count in nominal dollars, inflation-adjusted dollars, dollars per capita—spending goes up. But the official report is that the budget has been slashed by $X million/billion/zillion. These "savings" take place against a wish-list budget that percolates up from each agency, which naturally desires to fatten its take by requesting a wad more than they got last year and a tidy piece more than they expect to haul in this year. When these increases are shaved by our elected guardians of the public trust, voilá—the budget has been slimmed!

Unless you're a bonehead of the sort who's forgotten to slip out of his bellbottoms and dress for the '90s, you will know that the '80s were a decade of defeat for government. Budgets were slashed; the public sector starved. Yet, the share of national income consumed by federal spending began and finished the decade at 22 percent (with the middle years bulging above that percentage), and this allowed the federal government to spend 14 percent more per capita in real terms in 1989 than it had in 1981. State and local spending, slashed to the absolute bone in the lean budgets of the Greed Decade, also managed to rise—17 percent in real per capita terms—from 1981 to 1989. The spending trim-down was from pig-out trend lines, not from stored body fat.

But that's the obvious part of this fiscal three-card monte. The real sneaky move is the one that flies right past—you've already missed it—that a public dollar *spent* counts as a public dollar *consumed*. (Macroeconomists and faith healers similarly define national income, Y, as being equal to consumption spending, C, plus investment spending, I, plus government spending, G. Murray Rothbard may have been closer to Science with his reformulation: Y=C+I *minus* G.)

The value of a house—a privately sold house—is the value of the dwelling to an actual consumer. That consumer won't pay a penny more because, say, the subcontractor screwed up and had to retile the master bath four times before she got it right. But the $umpteen-billion cost overrun on the B-102? That's (a) "money for defense," and counts (b) as a measure of U.S. military *preparedness*. (Which is why those who oppose such expenditures are presumptively squishy on national defense.)

So you're not even a little exorcised over this social bookkeeping fraud? Fine. But misreading inputs for outputs tips the policy game. Take poverty spending up or down. Up means better—more poverty reduction; less means worse—more poverty. How do we know? We don't weigh poverty in. We don't measure "people de-povertized." We measure money the government says it's spending on poverty programs.

Reagan hurt the poor, don't ya know—he cut government spending for welfare. (This assertion being straight out of the 1,000-pints-of-Lite diet book.) But what a wacky means of tracking the problem, when the undeniable solution would be to get *everyone* off welfare and defund the budget to naught. Paying welfare is itself an admission of systemic failure. It's parallel to concluding that United is the best airline because it spends the most on crash cleanup operations.

Funny math is ruled out where people play with their own money.

No such constraint was placed on Dr. Galbraith's freely flowing recommendations two decades back when he sermonized that there wasn't a social problem in New York City that couldn't be solved by doubling the muni budget.

This year, well over $2 billion in government cash will be spent in New York City for "housing for the poor." If this doubling and redoubling of the associated 1960s allowance has cleaned up *that* social problem, I'd really like to know exactly who it is I'm stepping over on the streets of Manhattan.

But, you see, we're doing so much more now for the housing problem, and we have the receipts to prove it. The lack of success that real human beings in New York have met in actually finding affordable housing—oh, that's another thing altogether. It's like sticking to your Lite diet. Just keep chuggin', and don't dare look down at the scale. If you pour in sufficient inputs, the results are assured. By definition. So bottoms up, you budgetary animals! And Spuds MacKenzie for director of OMB.

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"We are made wise not by the recollections of our past but by the responsibility for our future!"

—George Bernard Shaw

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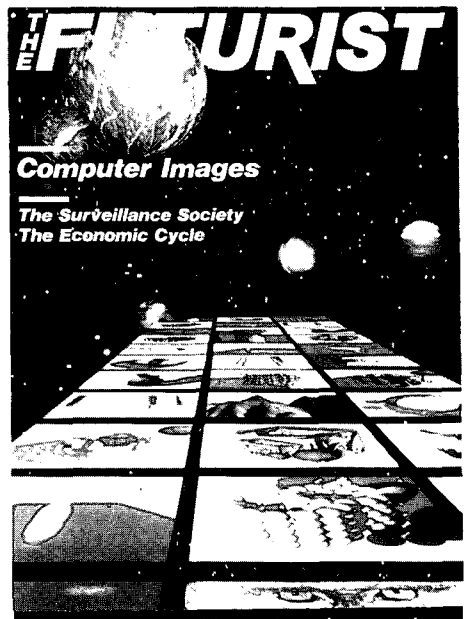

"All of us are taking a long journey into the future that will last every day of our lives. What will we be seeing and doing? How will we live? It is to the answers that may be found to these questions that the World Future Society is dedicated."

—Isaac Asimov

THE FUTURIST

The Society's bimonthly magazine of forecasts, trends, and ideas about the future. THE FUTURIST will keep you informed and enlightened with the latest developments, scenarios, and trends in such areas as lifestyles, business, science, education, the environment, and space. In addition to feature articles, THE FUTURIST contains special sections such as World Trends & Forecasts, Tomorrow in Brief, Future View (essays by distinguished futurists), and Book Reviews. This bellwether of futurist thinking has featured articles by or interviews with Alvin Toffler, B.F. Skinner, Albert Gore, Carl Sagan, John Naisbitt, and Gene Roddenberry.

CONFERENCES

You can attend the World Future Society's conferences and seminars at special members' rates. WFS conferences bring together leaders from many fields and many nations to share ideas and forecasts, to view exciting new technologies, and to establish avenues for networking.

THE FUTURIST BOOKSTORE

The World Future Society's Bookstore stocks over 250 futures-relevant books, plus videotapes and other materials. Members receive both The Futurist Bookstore Catalog and discounts on books and other products.

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☐ **Yes!** I want to take part in building tomorrow . . . today. Enclosed is my $30 check or money order for the first year's dues. Please send my free copy of *Careers Tomorrow: The Outlook for Work in a Changing World* immediately. I understand I'll receive a one-year (six bimonthly issues) subscription to THE FUTURIST, discounts from the Futurist Bookstore, and special invitations to General Assemblies and other meeting sponsored by the Society.

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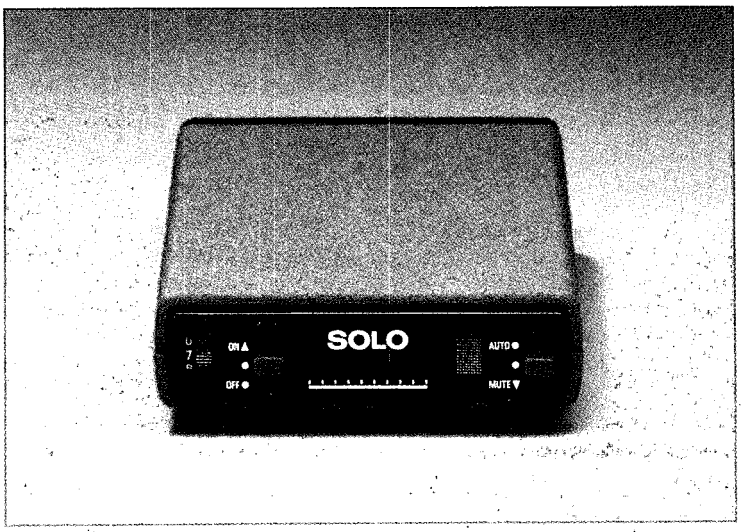
"The most user-friendly radar detector yet...we fell in love at first beep."
AutoWeek



"No other detector manufacturer has anything even close."
BMW Roundel

SOLO is shown actual size

SOLO

by the maker of PASSPORT and ESCORT

The Detector with Super-Power...and No Power Cord!

Until now, you couldn't consider taking your radar detector with you when you travel and rent a car.

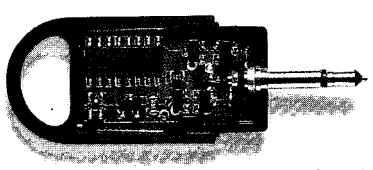
Now you can. SOLO is only ¾" high and 2¼" wide. It's about the size of a garage door opener—half the size of a paperback book. Total weight is 5½ ounces.

Until now, you had to worry about a wire spiralling downward from your visor.

Now you don't. SOLO is cordless. On the visor, it's next to invisible.

Until now, a thief could walk off with your detector and use it.

Now he can't. SOLO has a digital key. Without it, it won't work.



Actual size cutaway of Digital Key

The Secret of SOLO's Self-Power

Believe it or not, SOLO operates for more than 200 hours on a single 9-volt lithium battery.

SOLO actually uses only 2% of the power an old-fashioned cord-type detector requires...but has a warning-range well beyond most cord types.

The secret is the most efficient superheterodyne circuits ever engineered, plus (here comes some technical talk) a varactor-tuned GaAs FET microwave oscillator, four custom CMOS integrated circuits, seven circuit boards, and (the big reason) a digital power supply.

So SOLO will protect you for months on one little battery. It won't get weak...but when it's within five hours of battery replacement, it actually tells you so! And the battery-saver circuit turns SOLO off if you forget to.

But Is It As Powerful As a Cord-Type?

You bet it is!

In fact, SOLO has all the advanced features built into the original ESCORT and PASSPORT.

- Variable rate audio warning
- Different tones for X and K bands
- Alert lamp
- Ten-segment LED signal strength meter
- Automatic lamp dimming and dark mode
- Mute switch and auto-mute function
- Articulated visor clip
- Auto-adjust windshield mount
- Built to last for years and years

So you get long-range protection without the nuisance or embarrassment of a hanging cord.

Practically Theftproof

When you leave your car, slip SOLO into your shirt pocket or purse.

But if you do leave it in your open car, thieves already know SOLO needs the digital key you use when you first turn it on and whenever you change batteries. They won't grab what they can't use.

(Don't worry. If you lose your key, we have its registered number in our computer file.)

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SOLO is available only from...and solidly backed by...Cincinnati Microwave, manufacturer of more than two million famous PASSPORT and ESCORT radar detectors. When you get your SOLO, use it for one full month. If for any reason you decide not to keep it, send it back and we'll refund every cent you paid, even including return shipping costs.

The Radar Detector That Makes All Others Obsolete

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